English Inland Trade

1540 [Retail]

VISIT...

English Inland Trade 1430–1540

Southampton and its Region

edited by

Michael Hicks

English Inland Trade 1430–1540

Southampton and its Region

Edited by

Michael Hicks

Oxbow Books
Oxford & Philadelphia

Published in the United Kingdom in 2015 by
OXBOW BOOKS
10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
908 Darby Road, Havertown, PA 19083

© Oxbow Books and the individual authors 2015

Hardcover Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-824-4
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-825-1; Mobi Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-826-8;
PDF Edition: ISBN: 978-1-78297-827-5

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

English inland trade, 1430-1540 : Southampton and its region / edited by Michael Hicks.
1 online resource.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Description based on print version record and CIP data provided by publisher; resource not viewed.
ISBN 978-1-78297-825-1 (epub) -- ISBN 978-1-78297-826-8 (prc) -- ISBN 978-1-78297-827-5 (pdf) -- ISBN 978-1-78297-824-4 (hardcover) 1. Southampton (England)--Commerce--History--16th century. 2. England--Commerce--History--16th century. I. Hicks, M. A. (Michael A.), 1948-
HF3520.S6
381.09422'709024--dc23

2015015410

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the publisher in writing.

Printed in the United Kingdom by Berforts Information Press

For a complete list of Oxbow titles, please contact:

UNITED KINGDOM
Oxbow Books
Telephone (01865) 241249, Fax (01865) 794449
Email: oxbow@oxbowbooks.com
www.oxbowbooks.com

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Oxbow Books
Telephone (800) 791-9354, Fax (610) 853-9146
Email: queries@casemateacademic.com
www.casemateacademic.com/oxbow

Oxbow Books is part of the Casemate Group

CONTENTS

Preface

Technical Foreword
Winifred A. Harwood and Andy Murdock

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of Abbreviations

1 Introduction
Michael Hicks and Winifred A. Harwood

2 The Town of Southampton and its Foreign Trade 1430–1540
Tom Beaumont James

3 The Economic Context of the Brokage Books
John Hare

4 The Trading Calendar
Michael Hicks

5 The Freight Transport of Southampton
Michael Hicks

6 Southampton's Trading Partners: Salisbury
John Hare

7 Southampton's Trading Partners: London
Helen Bradley

8 Southampton's Trading Partners: Winchester
Winifred A. Harwood

9 Southampton's Trading Partners: The Small Towns of Hampshire and Wiltshire

John Hare

10 Southampton's Trading Partners: Beyond Hampshire and Wiltshire
John Hare

11 The Brokage Books as Sources for Local and Family History
Michael Hicks

12 Commodities: Wine
Winifred A. Harwood

13 Commodities: Luxury Goods, Spices and Wax
Winifred A. Harwood

14 Commodities: Fish
John Hare

15 Commodities: The Cloth Industry
John Hare

16 Miscellanous Commodities
John Hare

17 An Assessment of the Brokage Books
John Hare and Winifred A. Harwood

Bibliography

Maps

PREFACE

This multi-authored monograph was created by the longstanding Overland Trade Project of the University of Winchester. The Overland Trade Project is the most detailed study that is possible of England's inland trade in the premodern era. It exploits the wonderful brokage books of Southampton and in particular the thirteen brokage books that have been digested and published on the database *People, Persons and Commodities* (www.overlandtrade.org). These itemise Southampton's overland trade with all its principal partners nearby and as far away as Exeter, Bristol, Coventry, Kendal, and London. Southampton's extensive hinterland comprised a sizeable chunk of England as a whole. Thirty-two computer generated maps enable the visualisation of Southampton's trade, overall and in every commodity, over a century or short term. Data is also expressed visually in pie-charts, tables, and graphs. Users of the website can progress beyond the samples published here to pose their own questions and to secure answers in graphical form. This book of the project documents the broad outlines, continuity and change of Southampton's trade between 1430 and 1540. It is much more than regional in its interest and illuminates the trading system throughout England. It is a national study. It contributes to the local histories not just of Southampton, but of each of its partners and to the family histories of myriad merchants, carters, suppliers, customers, artisans and widows. This book provides the foundation and framework for future study – there is so much more that can be done – and includes many insights into the source and its uses that the authors learnt in the process of studying and writing.

Limited resources have meant that not all the brokage books could be incorporated as originally planned. To add a single brokage book demands a great effort in transcription, standardisation, data entry, and checking even though the parameters are now well-established. The highest priority is the brokage book for 1505, the only survivor for the first two decades of the 16th century. Editions for 1443–4 (by Coleman) and for 1448–9 (by Lewis) have been used for this book but are not yet entered on the database. The more that can be added, the more complete will be the database and the answers it can supply.

This multi-authored book is a genuine collaboration that could not have been achieved without the expertise of the five authors and many others too. The largest single contribution was made by Dr Winifred Harwood, who developed the database, resolved the problems, entered all the data and

corrected errors, and contributed several chapters to this book. She spent incalculable hours well beyond any call of duty on the project. Dr John Hare, the principal historian of late medieval rural Wessex, wrote most chapters including the fundamental overviews. Professor Tom James, premier historian of late medieval and early modern Southampton, contributed the Southampton chapter and Dr Helen Bradley the chapter on London and the Italians. Professor Michael Hicks devised and directed the project, edited this book and wrote several chapters. The table of contents indicate the principal author(s). Much discussion and some redistribution of text and data between chapters has proved essential.

Many others have advised, tested, and otherwise assisted the project. Professor James Bolton was most supportive and Dr Anne Thick advised at many points. Winchester University research students (Karl Alvestad, Alex Brondarbit, Courtnay Konshuh, Gordon McKelvie, and Katherine Weikert) and MA students (Joanna Arman, Adam Bowley, Mark Gower, Kathryn Marshal, Sabrina Moss, Katia Wright) tested the database. Dr Cheryl Butler and Mrs Louise Fairbrother helped identify people from Southampton and Dr Helen Bradley with Londoners and Italians. Obviously responsibility for the final contents rests with the named authors, especially the editor.

The City of Southampton, through the City Archives and Dr Susan Woolgar, Collections Manager, Southampton City Council kindly allowed the photocopying of the brokage books and publication of the data and archivists Susan Hill and Jo Smith were both extremely helpful. The GeoData Institute, University of Southampton, provided technological training and support, linked the database to a Geographical Information System, developed the website, and ironed out the many glitches. Thanks are due to Chris Hill, the director and Jason Sadler, but above all to Julia Branson and Andy Murdock who provided essential support both throughout the entire project and more recently in supporting the authors – running queries, checking figures and producing the maps. Andy Murdock created all the maps with advice from John Hare and Winifred Harwood. Harwood also devised many of the tables and figures for chapters other than those she authored.

Katherine Weikert processed the photographs. Neither the database nor the book could have been achieved without the financial support of the University of Winchester, the Charlotte Bonham-Carter and Pilgrim Trusts, and the British Academy. The University provided the necessary institutional back-up, including accommodation for the project and computing. The prototype 1447–8 brokage book edited by Harwood was published both as a volume (Southampton Record Series 42 (2008) and as a CD (Wessex Historical Databases 1 (2006).

Technical details about the database, names, dates, place names, commodities, weights and measures are located in the technical foreword.

All digital maps are the work of Andy Murdock. The editor acknowledges the photography and permission to reproduce Figures 6.2–6.4, 6.8, 8.1, 8.2, to

Dr John Hare; for 1.1, 5.2, to Simon Harwood; for 1.2–1.5, to Dr Winifred A. Harwood; for 2.1–2.4, to Professor Colin Platt; for 9.4, to Jonathan Snowden and Edward Roberts; for 1.2–1.5, 5.4, to Southampton City Council; to Winchester College for 5.2; to Dr Andrew Russel for 2.3, 6.2 and 6.3.

March 2015

TECHNICAL FOREWORD

Winifred A. Harwood and Andy Murdock

This book is based on the database created by Winifred Harwood, transformed into the website www.overlandtrade.org by the GeoData Institute, University of Southampton, and on the sample maps visualising the data created by Andy Murdock. Some acquaintance with these topics is necessary for the full appreciation of this book. Hence this Technical Foreword, which introduces the database (by Harwood) and the maps (by Murdock).

Introduction to the Database

First of all the raw data had to be made comprehensible to a modern audience and machine readable by the consistent application of the conventions and standards outlined below.

Batch and Batch ID. In the brokage books, a batch usually consists of a one, two or three-lined paragraph, sometimes more. The number of batches, or paragraphs, on a single page varies according to the size of script and the amount of detail.

Carts and horses passing through Bargate carried loads which consisted of one or more commodities, for one or more owners. Sometimes the quantity or weight of the commodity or commodities required more than one cart or horse to carry that particular consignment, or 'batch', as it is referred to in the database. A batch, therefore, can relate to one commodity carried by one carter to one destination, or it can refer to several commodities carried in one or more carts, by one or more carters, for one or more owners, to a single destination. Depending on the volume of trade, any number of batches can represent a single day's trade.

Each batch is identified by a **batch ID**. For example, take batch SC5/5/8.2r1. According to the Southampton Archives Services' numbering system, Southampton brokage book SC5/5/8 is the brokage book for the accounting year 1447–48. In the example the '8' is the number of the brokage book within the series; the '2' is the folio number; 'r' denotes recto ('v' verso); and the number which follows, in this case '1', refers to the number of the entry

on the page. The latter number does not coincide with the numbering in the original document, which starts renumbering from 1 on each new day. Very occasionally it has been necessary to divide a single batch into two batches to facilitate entry on to the database; on these occasions the second batch has been given a letter, e.g. 1 and 1a. Harvard referencing in this book uses the batch ID from the database.

Date. Saints days and other medieval dating practices were converted to modern forms. In the original text, all entries for a single day were listed under one date heading; on the database, the day, date and month were added to each batch entry. In addition, to facilitate easy comparison across years, the week of the financial year was also added to each batch. This was designed to assist comparison between years even when some weeks were missing.

Christian, or first, names have generally been standardised and modernised.[1] Italian forenames have been retained and not anglicised.

Original surnames with variant spellings, as seen in the text, have been retained, but, for sorting purposes, the most frequently used form of the name has been inserted in a separate field (standard surname) and should be used for analysis. This does mean that a few well-known Englishmen – Thomas Cook, Stephen Forster, John Hall – appear in this book as Coke, Forstere, and Halle. Brokers generally shortened or garbled Italian names and some English names too. To Italianise them wholesale would create names unrecognisable in the database. Italian names therefore have not been anglicised unless the person was Italian by birth but English by denizenship, as in the case of Christopher Ambrose who traded out of Southampton. In some cases both versions are included. Dr Bradley has researched the correct Italian forms used here.

Note, there are occasions when the name of the carter is given as, for example, 'servant of John Smith'. On these occasions the 'servant' box has been ticked and the name 'John Smith' entered for the carter. Where members of the same family are seen carting together, 'senior' or 'junior' has been inserted in the title box. Status has been added when confirmed in the text, so too the place from which the person comes if indicated.

Place names were entered in their original variable forms and linked with a table which contains the corresponding place names in their modern forms. County names were then added as an extra field to this table. The town/county refers to those pre-1974 boundary changes. The addition of counties makes it possible to identify Southampton's trade from a county perspective with interesting results. Consequently, figures for Bristol are included in the Gloucestershire results and London in Middlesex.

Relevant grid references, eastings and northings, which link with the GIS mapping system, were also added. When allocating grid references to place names, it became obvious that a single place name could refer to more than one location. For example, there is a Twyford in Hampshire about nine miles from Southampton, but there are others in Buckinghamshire, Derbyshire,

Dorset, Herefordshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Oxfordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire. Generally, the closest place to Southampton was assumed. However, in a few instances, calculated judgements were made. For example, Bradford appears in the records; there is a Bradford in Cornwall, Devon, Northumberland, Yorkshire, and a Bradford Abbas in Dorset. However, since the goods conveyed to 'Bradford' were dyes for the cloth industry, it has been deduced that the records refer to Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire, which was renowned for its involvement in the cloth industry.

Tolls. The broker used Roman numerals to record the tolls paid. These were converted to Arabic form, and, for easy addition, all tolls in excess of 11d were converted to pence. Halfpennies were written as 0.5d and farthings as 0.25d. Book 1 shows total tolls paid; brokage, custom and pontage were not shown individually.

The broker also collected payments for market stalls. For simplicity, the names of the people who made payments for market stalls were included in the list of carters. The amount paid for the market stall was shown in the appropriate field 'm/s' (market stall).

Commodities. The spelling of these was standardised and each commodity categorised so that they could be analysed as single items, in categories or sub categories. A few examples follow.

Looking at the figure below, rumney was only one of fourteen types of wine on the database. By categorising each commodity, it not only becomes possible to calculate the quantity of rumney which left Southampton, but also to identify all types of wine and to see which was taken out in the greatest quantities; similarly, the range of different types of vegetables or fish; or whether more carts carried consumables than raw products for the wool and cloth trade.

A list of unclassified items is given at the end of the items list; either the item was not recognised or the medieval uses of the commodity was unknown, thus preventing categorisation.

Weights and Measures. The measurement of commodities was one of the greatest problems to be overcome and some remain which cannot be counted satisfactorily. In the original text, commodities were measured in a variety of units, which not only differed with each commodity, but one commodity alone could be measured in many different ways. Even similar commodities used different weights and measurements; for instance, soap appeared in the text as soap, white soap or black soap. Soap was measured variously in barrels, C, cases, chests, hogsheads, pipes, puncheons and serons. Generally, the same measurements were used for white soap, but black soap was most frequently measured in barrels. In book 8 a pipe of soap could vary between 6C, 6.5C, 7C, 7.5C and 8C, but generally the weight is specified; when not specified, then the smallest, 6C, has been taken.

To facilitate the counting of quantities, each commodity was designated a

unit of measurement at the planning stage. For example, gallons were the designated unit of measurement for wine. Thus wine, which appears in the original text as barrels (32 gallons),[2] hogsheads (63 gallons), pipes (126 gallons), butts (126 gallons) and dolios (252 gallons), is entered on the database only in gallons.

Where necessary, original measurements have been converted to one standard measurement which can be used for calculations, but the quantity has been retained in the notes, both for checking purposes and to allow future researchers to consult the original text. However, if bales or balettes are retained as the standard measurement they are not shown in the notes.

In some chapters, carts have had to be used as a measuring device to enable comparison between one type of goods and another, or to compare the use of products not specifically measured.

Currency. The coinage in use was pounds sterling (£), which consisted of 20 shillings (s), each made up of 12 pence (d). Half pence and quarter pence (farthings) also occur. These are expressed in the database in terms of the lowest denominator, pence (d).

Item	Sub category	Category
almonds	spices[1]	consumables food and drink
alum	mordants	wool and cloth trade
bowstaves	weapons	military
herring	fish	consumables food and drink
hides, tanned	hides and skins	skins hides leather
linencloth	cloth	textiles
onions	vegetables	consumables food and drink
soap, black	soap	wool and cloth trade
teasels	tools and equipment	wool and cloth trade
wine, rumney	wine	consumables food and drink
woad	dyes	wool and cloth trade

Note

1 In the middle ages the term 'spice' referred to two types of imported foodstuffs. The first group included dried fruits, such as currants, dates, figs, prunes and raisins, with almonds, rice and sugar, and the second, the highly flavoured spices, such as, cinnamon, cloves, ginger, mace, pepper and saffron, see Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 62.

Figure 0.1: Commodities by category and sub-category.

Groups of carters. When named individually in the database, groups of carters travelling together caused duplication/triplication of commodity quantities. To ensure that commodities were only counted once, 'group of carriers' was entered in the 'forename' and 'surname' columns and the members of the group identified on a separate table. Thus all the original information was retained without compromising the calculations.

Custom only. For some commodities, custom was levied on the sale of certain goods in the town, such as cloth, horses, kerseys, leather, lead and malt. In the database these are shown as 'custom only paid'. In book 3 numerous entries for corn and malt were recorded without any indication of

whether the goods were brought in or taken out, merely that custom was paid. These entries have been recorded as 'custom only paid'. They may have been brought into the town through the Bargate on horseback, since pontage was not paid, but more probably through other gates as explained below.[3]

Introduction to the Overland Trade Maps

The brokage records capture detailed information about the shipment of goods carried on carts during the period but crucially, they record the *destinations* the goods went to. This provides an exciting opportunity to map the data and to explore patterns in trade such as to where different goods were transported and to identify important centres for certain types of goods.

The database enables data to be presented in a range of different formats: tables, bar charts, pie charts, and maps. Examples of all of these appear in the ensuing chapters. The most distinctive display is the digital map, which enables the data to be directly visualised.

Mapping the data also provides a clear picture of other aspects of trade such as the range of goods, i.e. how far they were transported given the constraints of horse and cart and the road network of the time. It is also possible to reconstruct patterns of movements of the individual carters and to estimate their yearly travel distance.

Standardised place names are linked to an existing digital map dataset which records the geographical location (OS grid reference) of these places derived from Ordnance Survey's Open Data. This enables the collation of the commodity information for that location and display of the amounts for a given time period, on a digital map using a Geographical Information System (GIS). An example is shown below which displays an excerpt for the distribution of wine over the period 1439–1540 (mapped in full in Map 4).

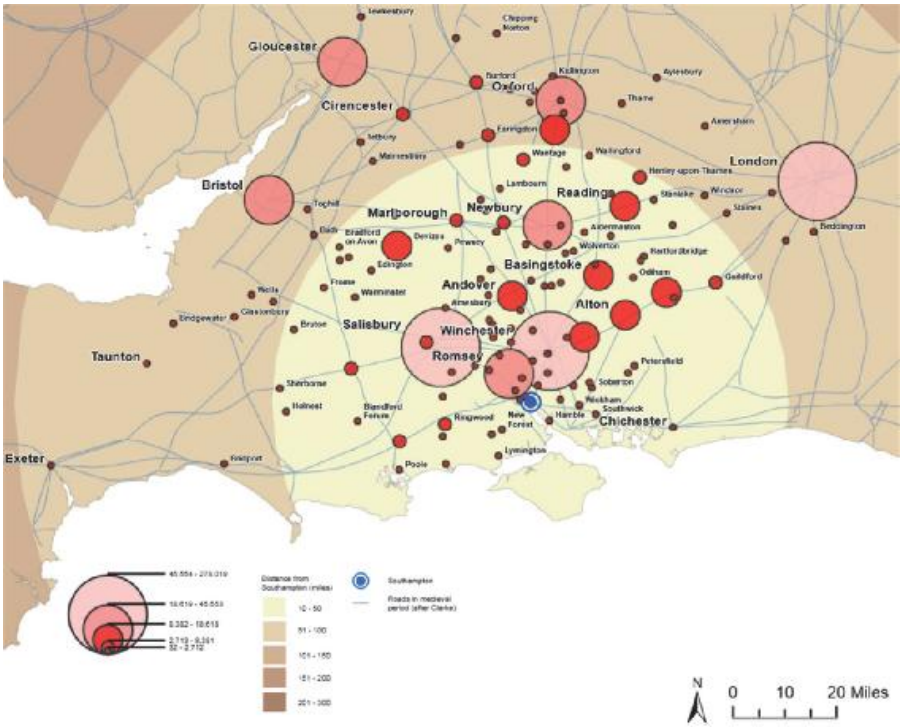


Figure 0.2: Distribution of wine 1439–1540.

Where possible, the volume for the commodities transported was plotted, but this was only really possible where the books recorded the goods in a standard format (e.g. barrels, etc.) or could be converted into a standard format (e.g. hogshead or pipe into gallons). This was not possible for some commodities (e.g. products for the wool and cloth trade) which recorded a variety of quantities (bales, packs, etc.) making standardisation difficult.

Combining the power of databases with the visual representation capabilities of a digital mapping within GIS, it is possible to analyse and create thousands of different map based queries of the brokage data. In order to facilitate this, the project team has developed a fully interactive web-based mapping system (similar to Google Maps) which not only displays the outputs of queries, but which allows the user to browse around and interactively interrogate the map content by clicking on it with the mouse cursor and to filter the data by commodity, destination, carter, recipient and time period filters. This uses a database created within Post Gres with visualisation from Open Layers (mapping) and Google Charts (charting and tables). Further details can be found at www.overlandtrade.org.

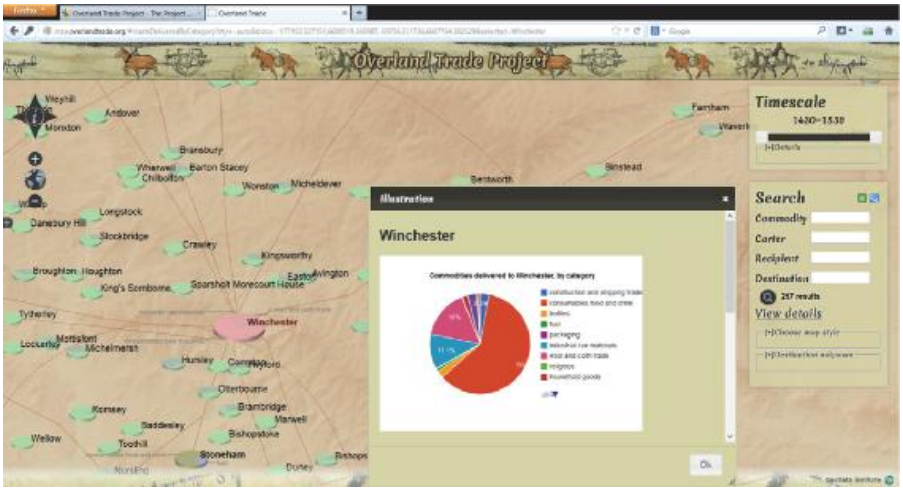


Figure 0.3: Winchester's closest trading partners.

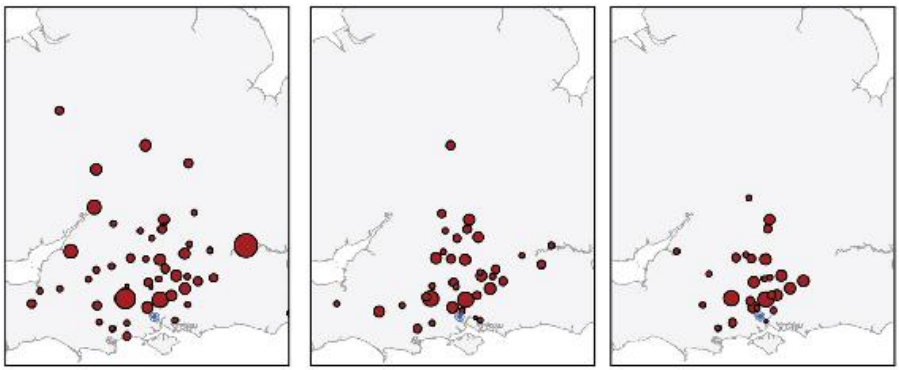


Figure 0.4: Variations in distribution in wine trade.

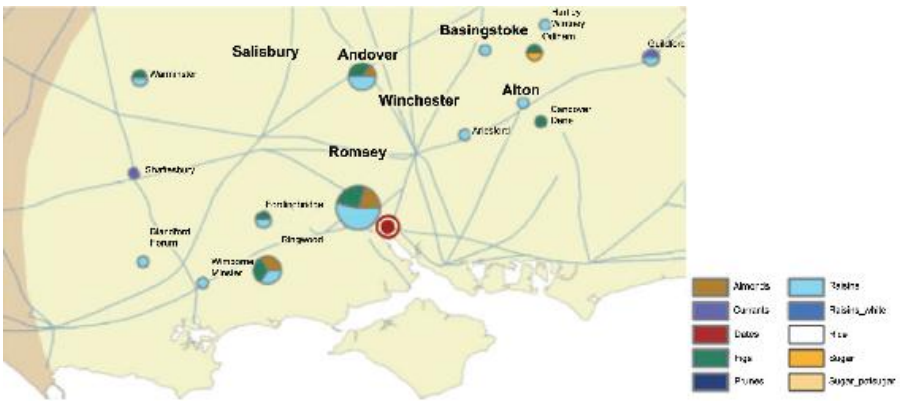


Figure 0.5: Distribution of spices in Southampton's hinterland.

However, further analysis was also undertaken within GIS in order to

create specific maps for this publication that are further described in the text and where it was possible to have greater flexibility over the cartographic output. Where quantities of commodities remained consistent it was also possible to map change over time in the amounts transported to different places and which in some cases can be explained by events of the time (e.g. interruption due to wars). In other cases, it was only possible to see changes in the different destinations certain goods went to but that in itself provides interesting insights. The example, p. x is a map excerpt showing records from three time periods of the variation in the winetrade (see more fully Map 5).

Where possible, maps have also been created which provide spatial representation using pie charts at the item level (e.g. different types of spices as shown in the excerpt above and in full in Figures 13.4–5).

The maps are presented under different headings for the different commodities and represent the major commodities covered for the period within the brokage books.

All of the maps are also shown with distance bands from Southampton and a map of medieval and roman roads as a backdrop. This road map was digitised for this project from a map created by Professor Mike Clark (Director Retired, GeoData Institute) *c*. 1966 from a combination of a Roman Roads map (after I. D. Margary 1955), Gough Road maps *c*. AD 1360 – Bodleian Library and Premonstratensian itineraries from Titchfield Abbey. This is the closest representation available of the road network of the period.

The Overland Trade database is an extremely rich data source and the maps in this section highlight many interesting trends. Furthermore, the online mapping system offers the potential to further explore more specific queries of items, carters, recipients, destinations and temporal trends and will no doubt generate many other interesting and insightful maps.

Notes

1 With reference to E. G. Withycombe, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Names* (Oxford, 1977).

2 A barrel generally contained 32 gallons wine, oil etc. and on those occasions when it differed, the broker indicated the specific quantity, e.g. 1 barrel oil containing 6 gallons (SC5.5.3.59v1).

3 See below, Ch. 5.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 0.1 Casualties by category and sub-category
Figure 0.2 Distribution of wine 1439–1540
Figure 0.3 Winchester's closest trading partners
Figure 0.4 Variations in distribution in wine trade
Figure 0.5 Distribution of spices in Southampton's hinterland
Figure 1.1 Bargate, Southampton, atop the city wall
Figure 1.2 Brokage Book SC 5/5/8 for 1447–8 which shows the original parchment cover
Figure 1.3 Page 1 of the earliest Brokage Book SC 5/5/1 for 1430–1
Figure 1.4 Page from SC 5/5/29 for 1492–3 showing the neater format
Figure 1.5 Handwriting and layout of SC 5/5/37 for 1538–9 written in English and showing use of Roman numerals in main text, Arabic numerals for page numbering at top right of page, clear format and fewer entries per page
Figure 2.1 Map of Medieval Southampton
Figure 2.2 58 French Street, now English Heritage's Medieval Merchant House
Figure 2.3 The Undercroft, Simnel Street, Southampton
Figure 2.4 Three surviving vaults of medieval Southampton houses
Figure 3.1 Norman wine trade 1400–1500 (5 year averages to the nearest tun). Source: D. H. Sacks, *The Widening Gate. Bristol and the Atlantic Economy* (Berkeley, 1991), 22, based on figures from James, *Wine Trade*
Figure 3.2 Trade of Hampshire and Wiltshire (as a percentage of the database total)
Figure 3.3 Southampton's inland trade: three towns (by carts)
Figure 3.4 Southampton's inland trade: three towns as a percentage of the total
Figure 3.5 Chronology of trade (in carts). Sources: E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade 1275–1547* (Oxford 1963); H. S. Cobb, 'Cloth Exports from London and Southampton in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: A Revision', *EcHR* 2nd ser. 31 (1978), 607. For the adjusted figures, see below Ch. 15. The figures for 1444 and 1449 are calculated from Coleman map 2 and Harwood, 'Trade of Southampton', 145. That for 1444 excludes entries with unknown destinations and is therefore a slight underestimate
Figure 4.1 Month by month comparison of departures of carts from Southampton in 1447–8 and 1527–8
Figure 4.2 Carts in and out of Southampton 1439–1539 (per month)
Figure 4.3 Graph of carts leaving Southampton 1439–1539 (per month)
Figure 4.4 Bar chart of carts leaving Southampton 1439–1539 (per month)
Figure 4.5 Number of carts entering and leaving Southampton with cloth in 1447–8 (per month)
Figure 4.6 Distribution of wine from Southampton in 1447–8 (in carts per month)
Figure 4.7 Distribution of fish from Southampton in 1447–8 (in carts per month)
Figure 4.8 Distribution of salt from Southampton in 1447–8 (in carts per month)
Figure 4.9 Distribution of spices from Southampton in 1447–8 (in carts per month)
Figure 5.1 Bargate from within the walls. The council chamber was on the first floor
Figure 5.2 Arundel map *c*. 1535–50
Figure 5.3 Number of carts in 1447–8 and 1527–8 compared
Figure 5.4 Aerial photograph showing ten medieval undercrofts at Southampton
Figure 6.1 Number of carts from Southampton to Salisbury 1430–1540

Figure 6.2 St Thomas' Church, Salisbury. The church with its elaborate panelling was rebuilt on a new and much grander scale in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century reflecting the wealth and aspirations of the citizens
Figure 6.3 Fifteenth-century house with double jetty: Silver Street, Salisbury. A major building project at a time of economic difficulty.
Figure 6.4 The Hall of John Halle, Salisbury. The hall with its fine external stone paneling and elaborate decorated roof was a piece of conspicuous consumption by one of the richest and most powerful men in the city.
Figure 6.5 Salisbury and its hinterland: Trade with Salisbury and Wiltshire
Figure 6.6 Salisbury and Wiltshire: Annual trade in wine, woad and herrings
Figure 6.7 The trading activities of some Salisbury Merchants (in carts and transactions) Tr = Transactions. *Ca* = Carts. Each single transaction constitutes a separate entry in the database. The number of carts represents the number assigned to an individual merchant. This may include duplication where the contents of a cart(s) belonged to more than one person
Figure 6.8 William Swayne's chapel in St Thomas' Church, Salisbury. As part of the rebuilding, Halle's greatest rival helped extend and rebuild this church
Figure 6.9 Salisbury's trade (by carts)
Figure 6.10 Salisbury's percentage of goods for the cloth industry traded from Southampton
Figure 7.1 Carts to Salisbury: Annual Figures (in carts)
Figure 7.1 Revenues on the London route 1430–1540: Outbound and Inbound
Figure 7.2 Revenues on the London Route 1430–1540: Outbound to London
Figure 7.3 Revenues on the London Route 1430–1540: Inbound
Figure 7.4 Merchants dealing in major and intermediate commodities 1430–1540: Outbound
Figure 7.5 Value of trade with London 1430–1540: Outbound and inbound (by carts)
Figure 7.6 Revenues from London, Salisbury and Winchester routes 1430–1540: Outbound
Figure 7.7 Brokage and pontage from London, Salisbury and Winchester routes 1430–1540: Outbound
Figure 7.8 Brokage and pontage from London, Salisbury and Winchester routes in the early 1490s: Outbound
Figure 7.9 Brokage and pontage from London, Salisbury and Winchester routes in the sixteenth century: Outbound
Figure 8.1 Medieval development at Winchester: Godbegot House *c*. 1462–3
Figure 8.2 Medieval development at Winchester: The Pentice
Figure 8.3 Winchester occupations
Figure 8.4 Towns ranked by number of carts from Southampton
Figure 8.5 Number of carts to Winchester, London and Salisbury compared
Figure 8.6 Carts leaving Southampton bound for Winchester
Figure 8.7 Carts to Winchester 1439–1540
Figure 8.8 Carts to Winchester compared with total carts leaving Southampton
Figure 8.9 Comparison of total carts to Winchester compared with total carts from Southampton
Figure 8.10 Carts from Southampton to Winchester in 1439–40 and 1447–8
Figure 8.11 Number of entries of each commodity category (all years)
Figure 8.12 Commodities carried to Winchester
Figure 8.13 Distribution of wine to London, Salisbury and Winchester (all years excluding 1430–1 and 1493–4)
Figure 8.14 Distribution of wine from Southampton to London, Salisbury and Winchester 1439–1540
Figure 8.15 Distribution of wine from Southampton to Winchester (in tuns)
Figure 8.16 Wine sold to John Coteler
Figure 8.17 Quantity of woad taken to Winchester compared with total leaving Southampton
Figure 8.18 Quantity of woad taken to Winchester
Figure 8.19 Woad dispatched to Winchester
Figure 8.20 Quantity of iron to Winchester compared with total leaving Southampton
Figure 8.21 Londoners sending goods to Winchester

Figure 9.1 Small towns of Hampshire trading with Southampton
Figure 9.2 Trade of main Hampshire small towns 1431–1540 (by carts)
Figure 9.3 Main goods sent by destination (in carts)
Figure 9.4 The Angel Inn, Andover. An entirely new inn, reflecting both the importance of inns and of market towns like Andover in the overland trade from Southampton
Figure 9.5 Small towns of Wiltshire trading with Southampton
Figure 9.6 Trade of main small towns of Wiltshire (by carts). On horse
Figure 9.7 Main goods sent to the small towns of Wiltshire (by carts)
Figure 9.8 Trade of main small towns of east Somerset and West Wiltshire (by carts)
Figure 9.9 Main goods sent to the small towns of east Somerset (by carts)
Figure 10.1 Trade of selected towns: by carts: Bristol, Gloucester and the Cotswolds
Figure 10.2 Selected towns trading with Southampton (by carts): Bristol, Gloucester and the Cotswolds
Figure 10.3 Trade of Newbury and its hinterland: by carts
Figure 10.4 Newbury and its hinterland (by number of carts)
Figure 10.5 Trade of selected midland towns: by carts
Figure 10.6 Selected towns trading with Southampton (by carts)
Figure 12.1 Distribution of must
Figure 12.2 Figures including all unidentified destinations (all years in gallons)
Figure 12.3 Distribution of wine from Southampton 1491–4 (in gallons; weeks 1–34)
Figure 12.4 Distribution of wine to major destinations from Southampton (gallons)
Figure 12.5 Distribution of wine from Southampton to major towns
Figure 12.6 Principal destinations of wine from Southampton
Figure 12.7 Distribution of wine from Southampton (total all years)
Figure 12.8 Distribution of wine by counties
Figure 12.9 Ranking counties (wine)
Figure 12.10 Regions showing distribution of wine by county in gallons in percentage terms
Figure 12.11 Changing pattern of distribution by county
Figure 12.12 Changing destinations for wine imports
Figure 12.13 Total figures for distribution of malmsey and rumney from Southampton (all years)
Figure 12.14 Principal destinations for malmsey and rumney (all years)
Figure 12.15 Distribution of wine to taverns
Figure 12.16 Principal distributors of wine
Figure 12.17 Imported wine to London
Figure 12.18 Distribution of wine by Londoners to other destinations
Figure 12.19 Summary distribution by Londoners
Figure 12.20 The wine trade of Southampton merchants
Figure 12.21 The wine trade of Salisbury merchants
Figure 12.22 Winchester traders in wine
Figure 13.1 Figures for luxury destinations
Figure 13.2 Distribution of imported spices group 1
Figure 13.3 Distribution of imported spices group 2
Figure 13.4 Spices taken to London 1447–8 (counted consignments)
Figure 13.5 Spices taken to London 1491–2 (counted consignments)
Figure 13.6 Imports of almonds 1439–94
Figure 13.7 Distribution of sugar
Figure 13.8 Distribution of spices to London (counted occasions)
Figure 13.9 Distribution of spices to London 1430–1540 (counted occasions)
Figure 13.10 Distribution of wax from Southampton by year (excluding 1430–1)
Figure 13.11 Distribution of wax from Southampton by year (excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 2C
Figure 13.12 Distribution of wax from Southampton by year (excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 4C
Figure 13.13 Distribution of wax from Southampton to destination towns (all years excluding 1430–1)

Figure 13.4 Distribution of wax from Southampton (all years excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 2C
Figure 13.5 Distribution of wax from Southampton. Assumption: 1 bale equals 4C
Figure 13.6 Summary: destinations for wax
Figure 13.7 Distribution of wax from Southampton to London, Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester (excluding 1430–1)
Figure 13.8 Distribution of wax from Southampton to London, Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester (excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 2C
Figure 13.9 Distribution of wax from Southampton to London, Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester (excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 4C
Figure 14.1 Main types of fish
Figure 14.2 Herring trade: Salisbury's hinterlands 1430–1540
Figure 14.3 Herring trade: major centres
Figure 14.4 Annual herring trade (barrels)
Figure 14.5 Annual herring trade (percentages)
Figure 15.1 Cloth recorded as imported to Southampton (Michaelmas to Michaelmas)
Figure 15.2 Places of origin of cloth to Southampton (excluding London and Salisbury)
Figure 15.3 Woad: geographical spread
Figure 15.4 Annual totals of deliveries of woad to 6 principal destinations (in balettes)
Figure 15.5 Percentages of woad sent to groups of towns (in balettes)
Figure 15.6 Annual totals of madder from Southampton (in bales)
Figure 15.7 Madder consignments 1430–40 (by bales)
Figure 15.8 Madder recipients
Figure 15.9 Figures for oil (in gallons)
Figure 15.10 Main recipients of black soap
Figure 16.1 Consignments of hops from Southampton (in carts)
Figure 16.2 The Southampton Wool House (exterior)
Figure 16.3 The Southampton Wool House (interior)
Figure 16.4 Annual figures of salt sent inland from Southampton (in quarters)
Figure 16.5 Destinations for more than 10 quarters of salt
Figure 16.6 Main destinations of iron (by carts)
Figure 16.7 Iron trade: top ten recipients of iron (by carts)
Figure 16.8 Building materials in the brokage books
Figure 16.9 Boat tolls (number)
Figure 16.10 Boats despatched from Southampton in 1461–2

LIST OF MAPS OF OVERLAND TRADE

1 Distribution of trade from Southampton (physical)
2 Distribution of carts: all available years
3 Distribution of carts: all available years (central southern England)
4 Distribution of wine (all wine): all available years (in gallons)
5 Distribution of wine (all wine): by year
6A Distribution of malmsey: all available years (in gallons)
6B Distribution of malmsey: by year
7A Distribution of rumney: all available years (in gallons)
7B Distribution of rumney: by year
8A Distribution of spices (group 1 – aromatic): all available years (in consignments)
8B Distribution of spices (group 1 – aromatic): by year
9 Distribution of spices (group 1 – aromatic): pie charts
10A Distribution of spices (group 2): all available years (in consignments)
10B Distribution of spices (group 2): by year
11 Distribution of spices (group 2): pie charts
12A Distribution of wax: all available years (in hundredweights)
12B Distribution of wax: by year
13A Distribution of fish: all available years (in destinations)
13B Distribution of fish: by year
14 Distribution of herring: all available years (in barrels)
15 Distribution of herring: by year
16 Wool into Southampton: all available years (in consignments)
17 Cloth into Southampton: all available years (in consignments)
18 Distribution of materials for cloth industry: all available years (in consignments)
19 Distribution of materials for cloth industry: by year
20 Distribution of woad: all available years (in balettes)
21 Distribution of woad: by year
22 Distribution of madder: all available years (in bales)
23 Distribution of madder: by year
24 Distribution of alum: all available years (in bales)
25 Distribution of alum: by year
26 Distribution of oil: all available years (in gallons)
27 Distribution of oil: by year
28A Distribution of soap: all available years (in consignments)
28B Distribution of salt: all available years (in consignments)
29A Distribution of hops: all available years (in consignments)
29B Distribution of millstones: all available years (in millstones)
30 Distribution of bowstaves: all available years (in bowstaves)
31 Distribution of bowstaves: by year
32A Distribution of iron: all available years (in hundredweights)
32B Distribution of iron: by year

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bridbury, *Medieval*	A. R. Bridbury, *Medieval English Clothmaking: An Economic Survey* (London 1982)
Bunyard	*The Brokage Book of Southampton from 1439–40*, vol. 1: *1439–1440*; ed. B. D. M. Bunyard, Southampton Record Society 40, 1941
CLBH	*Calendar of Letter-Books preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, (11 vols, London, 1899–1912), book H
CLBK	*Calendar of Letter-Books preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (11 vols, London, 1899–1912), Book K
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls*
CSPVen	*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice*, ed. R. Brown (London, 1864)
CUHB	*The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. D. M. Palliser, I (Cambridge, 2000)
Childs, *Anglo-Castilian*	W. R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1978)
Coll Book	*The Local Book of Southampton for 1439–40*, ed. H. S. Cobb, Southampton Records Series 5 (1961)
Common Brokage Book	*The Brokage Book of Southampton, 1443–1444*, 2 vols, ed. O. Coleman, Southampton Records Series 4, 6 (1960–1)
Coleman	O. Coleman, 'Trade and Prosperity in the 15th century: Some Aspects of the Trade of Southampton'. *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 16:1 (1963), 9–22
Dunbury, 'Ties'	S. Dunbury, 'Ties of Trade: The Port of Southampton and the Merchants of Winchester and Salisbury', *The Ties that Bind. Essays in Honor of Barbara Hanawalt*, ed. L. E. Mitchell, K. L. French, and D. L. Biggs (Farnham, 2011)
Dunbury, thesis	S. Dunbury, The Redistribution of Wine from Southampton in the Fifteenth Century (PhD Minnesota 1996)
Dyer, *Standards*	C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages. Social Change in England* c. *1200–1520* (Cambridge, 1989)
EcHR	*Economic History Review*
Galloway	J. A. Galloway, *Urban Hinterlands, and Market Integration* c. *1300–1600*, ed. J. A. Galloway, CMS Working Papers Series 3 (London 2000)
Galloway, Keene, and Murphy	J. A. Galloway, D. Keene and M. Murphy, *A Medieval Capital and its Grain Supply. Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region*, c. *1300* (London, 1993)
Gerrard, *Spanish Sea*	*Spain, Spanish Seaways and the British Isles*, ed. Christopher M. Gerrard, Alejandra Gutiérrez and Alan G. Vince (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, BAR International Series 610, 1995)
Hare, *Prosperity*	J. N. Hare, *Prosperity and Poverty in a Growing Society: Wiltshire in the later Middle Ages* (Hatfield, 2011)
Hare, 'Salisbury'	J. N. Hare, 'Salisbury: The Economy of Fifteenth-Century Provincial Capital', *Southern History* 31 (2009)
Harwood, *Southampton*	W. A. Harwood, *Southampton Brokage Book, 1447–48*, Wessex Historical Databases 1 (2006)
Harwood, *Southampton*	*The Southampton Brokage Book, 1447–8*, ed. W. A. Harwood, Southampton Records Series 44 (2008)
Harwood, 'Customs'	W. A. Harwood, 'The Customs System in Southampton in the Mid-Fifteenth Century' *Hampshire Studies. Proceedings of the Hamphire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 53 (1998)

Harwood, 'Wine and consumption patterns in central southern England: the supply of iron and wax to Winchester College *c*. 1400–1560', *Southern History* 29 (2008)

Harwood, The Pattern of Consumption of Winchester College *c*. 1390–1540, unpublished PhD thesis, Winchester (2003)

Harwood, 'The Impact of St Swithun's Priory on the City of Winchester in the Later Middle Ages' in M. Hicks, (ed.) *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2001).

Harwood, 'The Trade of Southampton 1448–9'. *Hampshire Studies. Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society*, 55 (2000), 142–68.

James, *Three Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*; ed. E. M. Veale (Oxford, 1971).

Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985)

Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter*, Cambridge UP (1995)

Lee, *Cambridge and its Economic Region 1450–1560*, Studies in Regional and Local History 3, Hertfordshire University Press, Hatfield (2005)

Leland's Itinerary, ed. J. Chandler (Stroud, 1993)

Lewis, (ed.) *The Southampton Port and Brokage books, 1448–1449* (Southampton Records series, 36, 1993).

Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets. Inland Trade in Medieval England 1150–1350* (Basingstoke, 1997)

Platt, *Medieval Southampton: the Port and Trading Community, A.D. 1000–1600* (London, 1973)

Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270–1600* (Southampton Records Series, 1, 1951)

Southampton Records Series

Southampton Record Society

Stevens and Olding, T. E. Olding, (eds) *The Brokage Books of Southampton for 1477–8 and 1527–8*, Southampton Records Series, 28 (1985)

Victoria Histories of the Counties of England

Bradley, (ed.), *The Views of Hosts*, London Record Society 46 (2012)

Yates, *Town and Countryside in Western Berkshire*, c. *1327*–c. *1600. Social and Economic Change*, Boydell Press (Woodbridge, 2007)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Michael Hicks and Winifred A. Harwood

England's economic historians are fortunate to be able to draw on the remarkable series of customs accounts that begin in 1275 and that enable overseas trade to be authoritatively studied from an extraordinarily early date. They underpinned a great book, Power and Postan's *Studies in English Overseas Trade*, which remains unsuperseded after 80 years, although valuably supplemented by M. K. James on the wine trade, Veale on the fur trade, Lloyd on the wool trade, and a host of others.[1] Important though overseas trade was, especially for royal finances, it was always dwarfed by the millions of daily transactions and total volume that constituted England's inland trade. Inland trade has been much less studied, not just for the middle ages, but the early modern period also.

Professor Willan was investigating internal transport and trade for the forty years before his *Inland Trade* was published in 1977. By then Professor Everitt had already surveyed early modern markets, marketing and inns. In 1977 Professor Chartres surveyed this Cinderella subject for the Economic History Society. There now exists a gazetteer of medieval markets and fairs.[2] However all these are indirect studies of institutions and facilities rather than direct surveys or analyses of the actual trade. This was because of the absence of direct sources, such as accounts of the internal tolls that were commonplace on the continent or records of indirect taxes such as the gabelle. It is not however clear that sources are altogether lacking. The aulnage, an indirect tax-levied on cloth, did generate significant records, which were discredited as fictitious by Carus-Wilson, not perhaps fairly, and are deployed to good advantage by Hare on Wiltshire and Yates on West Berkshire.[3] Studies of particular estates, such as Cuxham in Oxfordshire, often report on carting services and other specific modes of transport.[4] More recently the excellent records of some major households, monastic such as the Durham obedientary accounts studied by Threlfall-Holmes, or collegiate, like those of Winchester College studied by Harwood, have been used to illuminate their trade and the

trading networks and facilities of their locations.[5] Those for the various Cambridge colleges underpinned Lee's study of the Cambridge region.[6] Regional studies have been undertaken for the London region by Keene's Centre for Metropolitan History and for the South-West by Kowaleski.[7] Masschaele boldly surveyed inland trade as a whole up to 1350.[8] Most recently Dyer has explored the operations of a south midlands country merchant and Slavin's study of the provisioning of Norwich has developed a methodology capable of replication elsewhere.[9]

Actually there were a considerable number of internal tolls in medieval England and a handful have left usable records. The series of haveners accounts of the duchy of Cornwall reveal much about the internal trade of the southwestern peninsular.[10] There exist moreover one account for Newcastle in 1511–12 of trade up the Tyne and one of 1535–6 at Chepstow of trade up the River Wye,[11] two chance survivals of what were surely series with many parallels, now lost, from other marcher lordships. The Southampton brokage books are much the most important such source. They constitute the longest series of accounts containing the largest quantity of data over the longest period of time. They span the century from 1430–1540,[12] for which books for 27 years are covered – a 25% sample. Not only are they the best source for English inland trade in the later middle ages, they are actually the best source for such activities until the eighteenth-century excise.

The potential of the brokage books has been recognised for 60 years. Geoffrey Elton highlighted the quality of Southampton's records in his survey of sources to 1640 and T. B. James found 'no similar source … in Britain'.[13] There have been scholarly editions by Southampton Record Society and its successor the Southampton Records Series of six brokage books: for 1439–40 by Bunyard (later Carpenter-Turner), for 1443–4 by Coleman, for 1447–8 by Harwood, for 1448–9 by Lewis, for 1477–8 and 1527–8 by Olding and Stevens.[14] An edition of the earliest book for 1430–1 was the core of Duxbury's 1996 Minnesota University PhD thesis, key findings of which have been published.[15] Many historians have referred to the brokage books in their work, notably Fryde, Yates, and Hare.[16]

Nevertheless the brokage books have been sadly underused. The series is incomplete and some volumes are damaged, yet a 25% survival rate over more than a century compares very well with most medieval series of accounts. The daunting quantity of data they contain has certainly confined previous scholars to particular books or to short runs of them, but far more significant are the technical problems posed to their full exploitation. Before use the books obviously have to be transcribed and translated. Even those volumes which have been so translated and edited by highly capable historians, from Bunyard and Coleman to Harwood, remain laborious to analyse, and have therefore been sampled or borrowed from very selectively. Coleman long ago laid the foundations for future analysis and exploitation, but nobody has followed. The Overland Trade Project was created to make

this data accessible and usable to a variety of audiences: not merely academic historians, but historians of every locality and every family within the records. Hicks 'imagined a database linked to a mapping system that would enable the results to be visualised across time and space'. This vision became feasible with modern information technology. The brokage books demand the power of the computer to search, analyse and interrogate them. To transcription of 13 sample brokage books must be added data entry and the construction of a database. Even before that, to render the data comprehensible to a twenty-first century audience and machine readable, the mass of data of all kinds needed processing and standardising. All this was achieved by Winifred Harwood. What has been created is a freely accessible web-mounted database on which Southampton's overland trade and its development over time can be visualised. This vision has now been achieved (www.overlandtrade.org). This book exploits this material and demonstrates its potential. It provides a foundation and parameters for what are hoped will be numerous future studies that are now released from the technical constraints of the data. Not only is there much more to be learnt, but the data can certainly be used in ways that have not yet been considered.

The Southampton Brokage Books[17]

Southampton was one of England's principal ports for imports and exports. Southampton was frequented by Genoese carracks, Florentine and Venetian state galley fleets, and by Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese shipping.[18] The crown maintained there a customer and a controller to levy national customs. Many particular accounts and summary enrolled accounts for all years at Southampton survive amongst the national exchequer records at The National Archives. Unfortunately these accounts do not distinguish Southampton from its outports, from Langstone Harbour in the east (and thus Portsmouth) to Hurst Castle (and thus Lymington and Keyhaven) in the west, so the trade of each is not easily separated. By the fifteenth century a well-organised system for collecting and recording national customs and other tolls had been set up in Southampton. In the port, Southampton's junior or water bailiff based at the quayside recorded the local tolls due on commodities which arrived or left the port by sea. The accounts produced by the water bailiff, now known as the town's port books, the *Liber Communis* and the *Liber Alienigenus*, were his record of the commodities, merchants and ships involved in Southampton's seaborne trade. He also recorded tolls paid, anchorage, cranage, custom, keelage and wharfage.[19] Meanwhile, at Southampton's Bargate, the Bargate broker was responsible for collecting and recording tolls paid on goods and carts as they entered or left the town, the landborne trade. While calculating and recording the three tolls of brokage, local custom and pontage, the broker was required to identify the commodities carried, including their quantities, the owners of the goods, the carters who carried them and the towns towards

which the carts were travelling. The water bailiff and the Bargate broker accounted each year to the corporation. The detailed accounts produced by the Bargate broker have become known as the Southampton brokage books, and were the source which inspired this project. This wonderful series is unique to Southampton. The brokage books are particularly useful for those years of the fifteenth century when the Italians were trading through the port of Southampton.[20] Their activities demonstrate most forcibly the interaction of overseas and internal trade and mark proportionately the most important contribution of Southampton to English internal trade. Regrettably not all accounts survive, but 56 brokage books do exist for the period 1430 to 1566.[21] This study is based on a sample comprising 13 books for 12 years.

Harwood has shown for 1448–9 how some of the more distinctive imported commodities can be traced from arrival in the customs accounts to departure in the brokage book.[22] There are local customs accounts for some years that give further details of coastal traffic into Southampton. Undoubtedly some commodities were redistributed by coastal shipping and up the rivers Avon, Itchen, Meon and Test, although these were not navigable far upstream – not as far as Winchester, for instance. Distribution by water explains the paucity of trade recorded with the New Forest and Dorset to the west, with Portsmouth, eastern Hampshire, Chichester and Sussex to the east, although certainly some commodities carried to Romsey, Salisbury, and Winchester were redistributed overland in these directions. The brokage books confine themselves to the traffic through the northern gate (the Bargate), pontage of 1d being paid on every cart. More carts are recorded as leaving Southampton than entering. The corporation had a strong financial interest in preventing outward traffic from evading local customs and brokage by leaving through other gates and therefore directed trade through the Bargate. Only pontage was levied on inward traffic, which was apparently permitted through the other gates. Relatively few packhorses, horses or herded animals feature in the brokage books. Only single figures of each are recorded as entering Southampton each year, because they were exempt from tolls and thus unrecorded. This is therefore a study of the trade of Southampton with its trading partners overland by cart and by road.

Three Bargate tolls already existed in the fourteenth century, the proceeds being paid to the town's steward, but no detailed records survive before 1430–1, the date of the first surviving brokage book.[23] The brokage books survive in the Southampton City Archives because they were the accounts tendered at the end of each year to the corporation for audit. Medieval accounts are normally of the charge/discharge type, recording actual income or what ought to have been received, allowances and disbursements, followed by the balance due (*et debet*). The Southampton brokage books are not like this. They are final accounts, although in several cases duplicated, and they are particular accounts of income that set out day by day and in great detail all carts and their contents that passed through the Bargate and what tolls were due from

them. There is a summary of receipts on every page and sometimes every quarter too. This format was fully established by 1439–40 and became the expectation that every subsequent book delivered. There were many exemptions to custom and brokage, which bulk larger with time, perhaps as traders better understood the rules. Whereas the accounts for the 1440s presume the rules and therefore explanations for payments and exemption have to be deduced by modern editors,[24] those of 1477–8 and 1527–8 spell out the reasons for exemption more explicitly. Underpinning these accounts, it has several times been observed, there must have been certificates demonstrating that custom had already been paid, that goods were for personal consumption, and to prove the several types of exemption. A few such notes survive.[25] There were probably some attempts to evade brokage, such as claiming personal consumption or giving intermediate destinations (e.g. Salisbury for Bristol), but these are unlikely to have escaped detection for long. There is some evidence of particular carters or owners who were allowed credit, accrued arrears or bad debts,[26] yet no reference to these appear in the books themselves. The occasional references to the domicile of some carters and owners may have helped in debt recovery. On occasion (as in autumn 1528) the broker paid over to the town steward everything charged to his account.[27] No expenses were allowed. A system in which everything due was exacted even if not received would surely have ruined the brokers. Less than complete recording of receipts or opportunities for graft are therefore implied. The sheer detail and precision of the accounts and the broker's liability for all sums listed lends credence to what is recorded. The quality of the source is explored further in chapter 17.

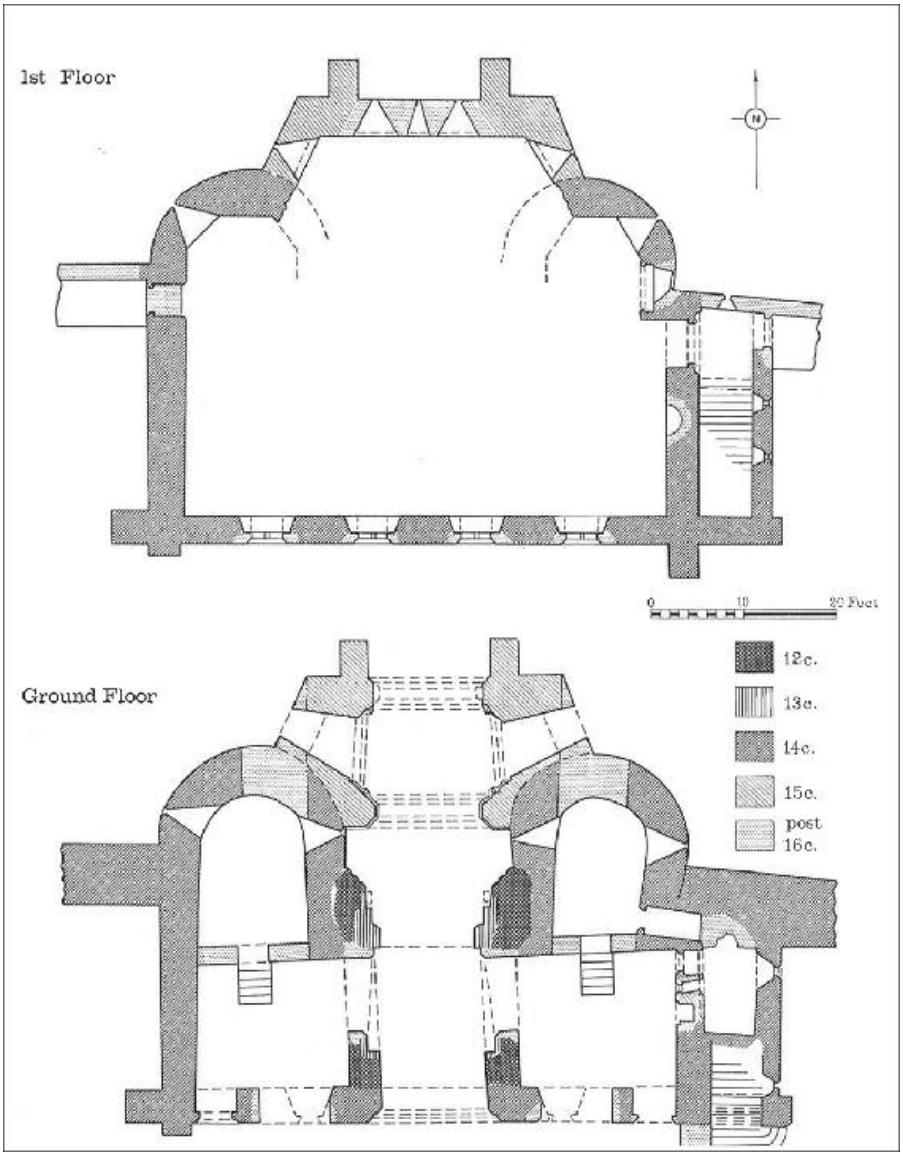


Figure 1.1: The Bargate, Southampton, atop the city wall.

Book 1 (SC5/5/1) may be the prototype. The general format is the same as subsequent books. However, there is less detail and the impression is that the system for recording tolls was still settling down. It is fraught with problems for the modern researcher. Sometimes quantities are omitted, sometimes the destination. Sometimes the quantity is included, but the name of the commodity is missing. The recipient is not always named. Sometimes it is not possible to determine whether goods stayed in the town or were taken out. There are many occasions when total payments are written in the left-hand margin, the same as in later books, but individual tolls are not specified. The

exact cost of brokage, custom and pontage is unclear. On one occasion a cart of the abbot of Hyde is recorded but no detail at all is given and no toll was paid. Book 1 in consequence is less useful to researchers than subsequent books, the figures produced from it being unreliable. It had however to be included in the database because it was the earliest and establishes the widest chronological range and the foundation from which all developments took place. It reveals the general range of places to which carts travelled, and the commodities which were being traded through Southampton in 1430–31. It should be consulted with great care and with full awareness of the inadequacies it holds. Figures from book 1 are excluded from some tables. Subsequent books quickly settled into a format which survived for many years with very few further changes.

Many brokage books retain their original parchment covers, see Figure 1.2; others, such as SC5/5/13 and SC5/5/14 for 1461–2 and 1462–3, have modern, probably eighteenth-or nineteenth-century paper covers. In common with all other accounts of the middle ages, the brokage books ran from Michaelmas, 29 September, to the same date in the following calendar year. However, sometimes the start and finish dates vary by a few days; for instance, book eight (SC5/5/8) runs from 1 October 1447 to 28 September 1448. Some are incomplete, covering only part of a year. Allowance has been made in the database, which numbers the weeks of the year and thus permits comparison of the portion that is extant. Most of the books are in Latin, although later ones, such as those of 1527–28, 1538–39 and 1539–40, are written in English. The quality and style of the handwriting varies according to the period written and the ability of the broker or the scribe who assisted him. Compare the handwriting in Figure 1.3, the earliest book, with Figure 1.4 which provides the example of a neat late fifteenth-century hand and with the more relaxed later sixteenth-century hand seen in Figure 1.5. Roman numerals are used in the main text and Arabic numbering for folio numbers in the later books.

Whereas book 1, Figure 1.3, shows a less formalised layout and the pages appear crowded, book 29, seen in Figure 1.4, is set out in neat paragraphs, bracketed together with leading lines, and the total paid for each entry written clearly in the right hand margin. Although the layout of book 1 is less obvious, the format adopted there was still being used in the later books with minor adjustments.

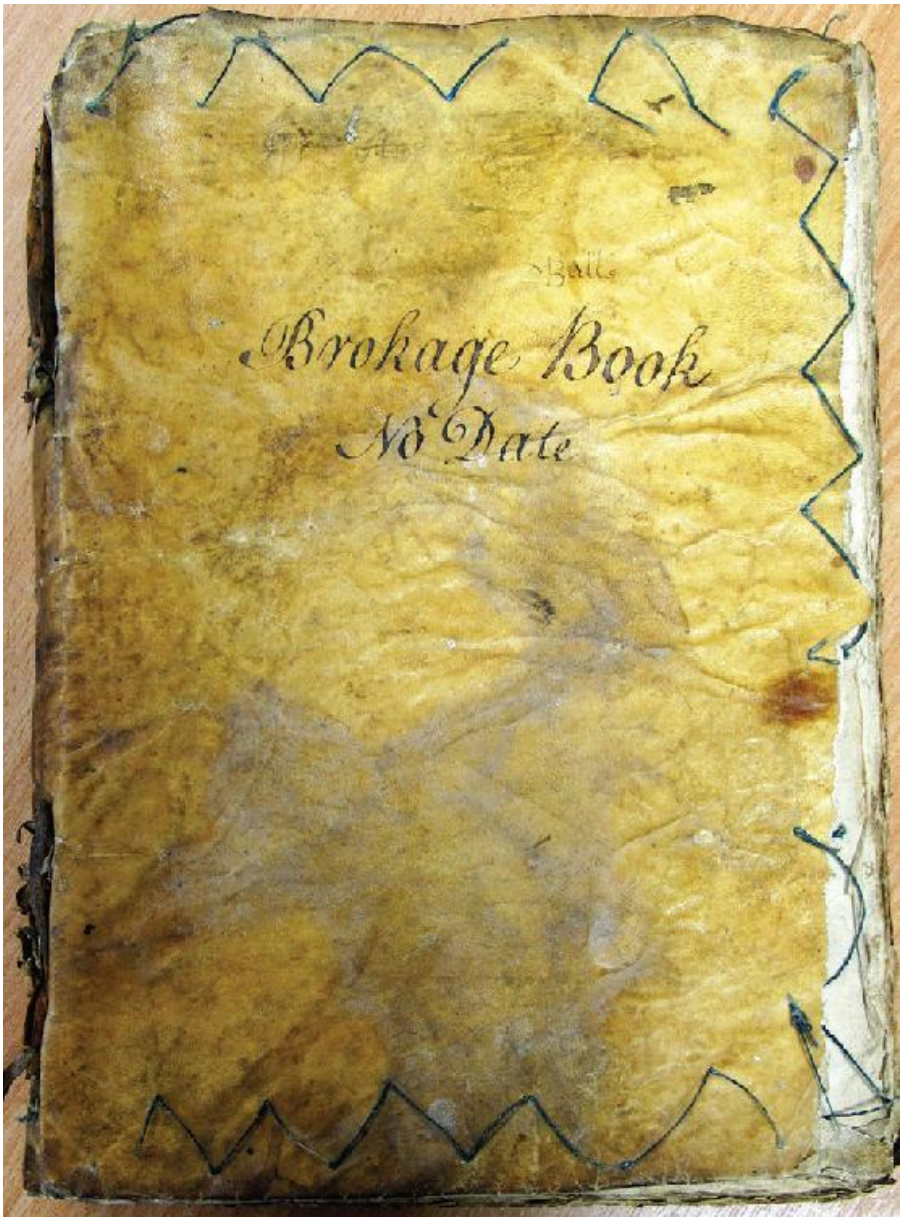


Figure 1.2: Brokage Book SC 5/5/8 for 1447–8 which shows the original parchment cover.

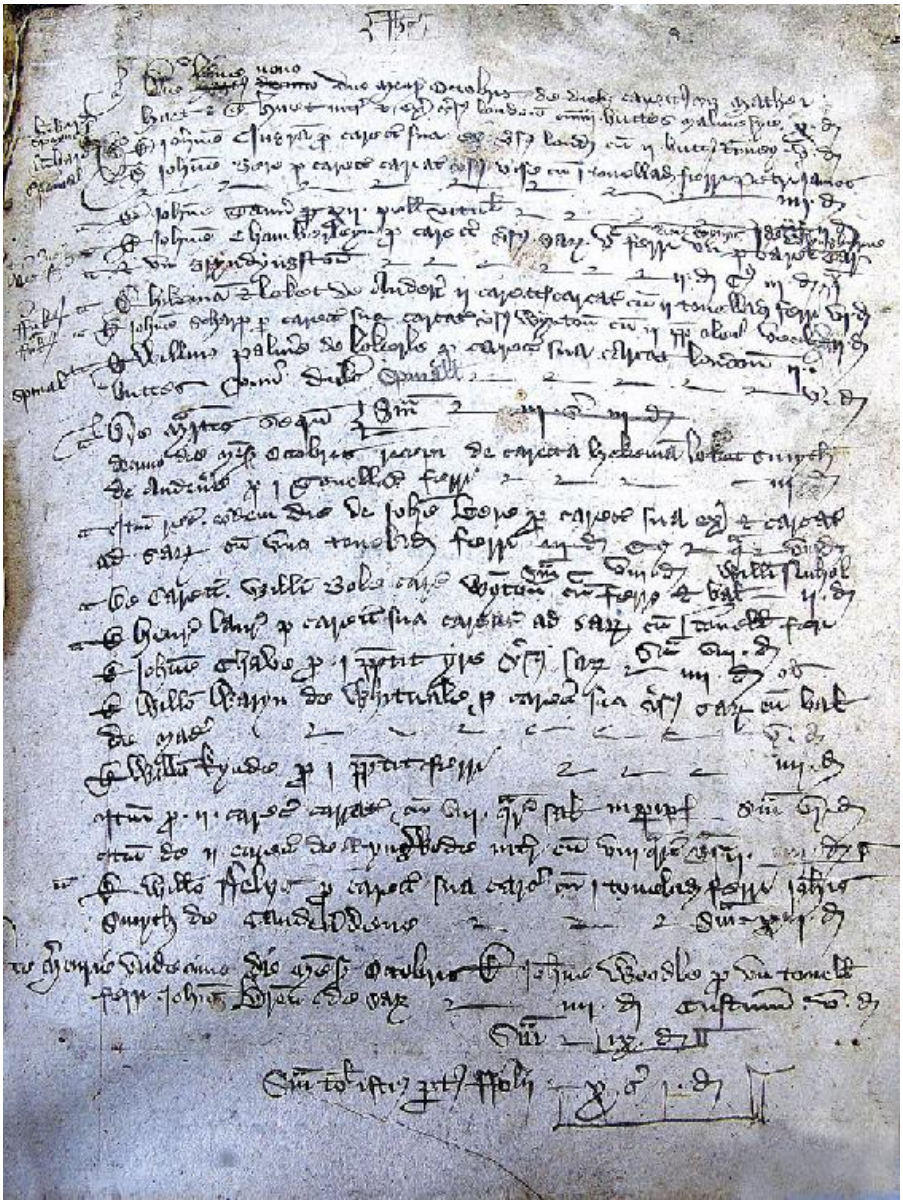


Figure 1.3: Page 1 of the earliest Brokage Book SC 5/5/1 for 1430–1.

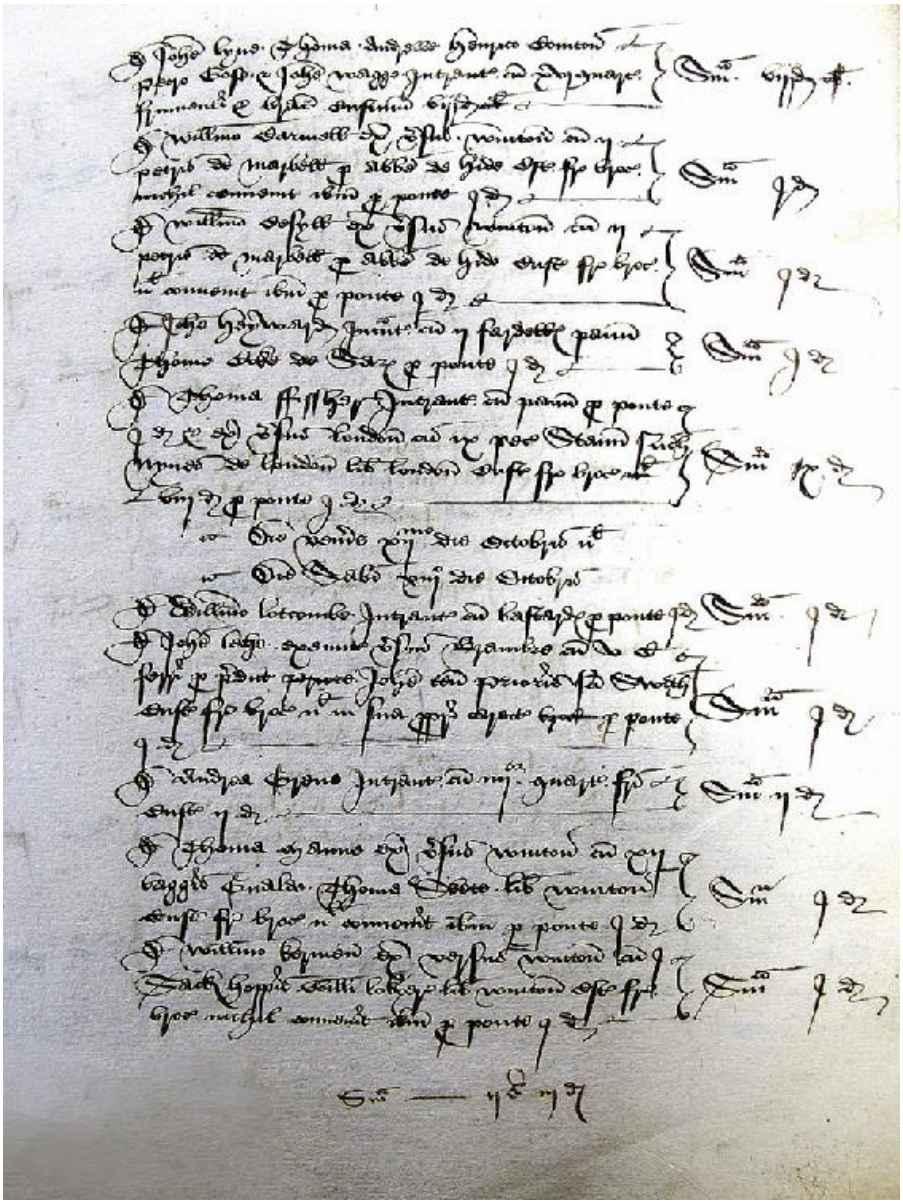


Figure 1.4: Page from SC 5/5/29 for 1492–3 showing the neater format.

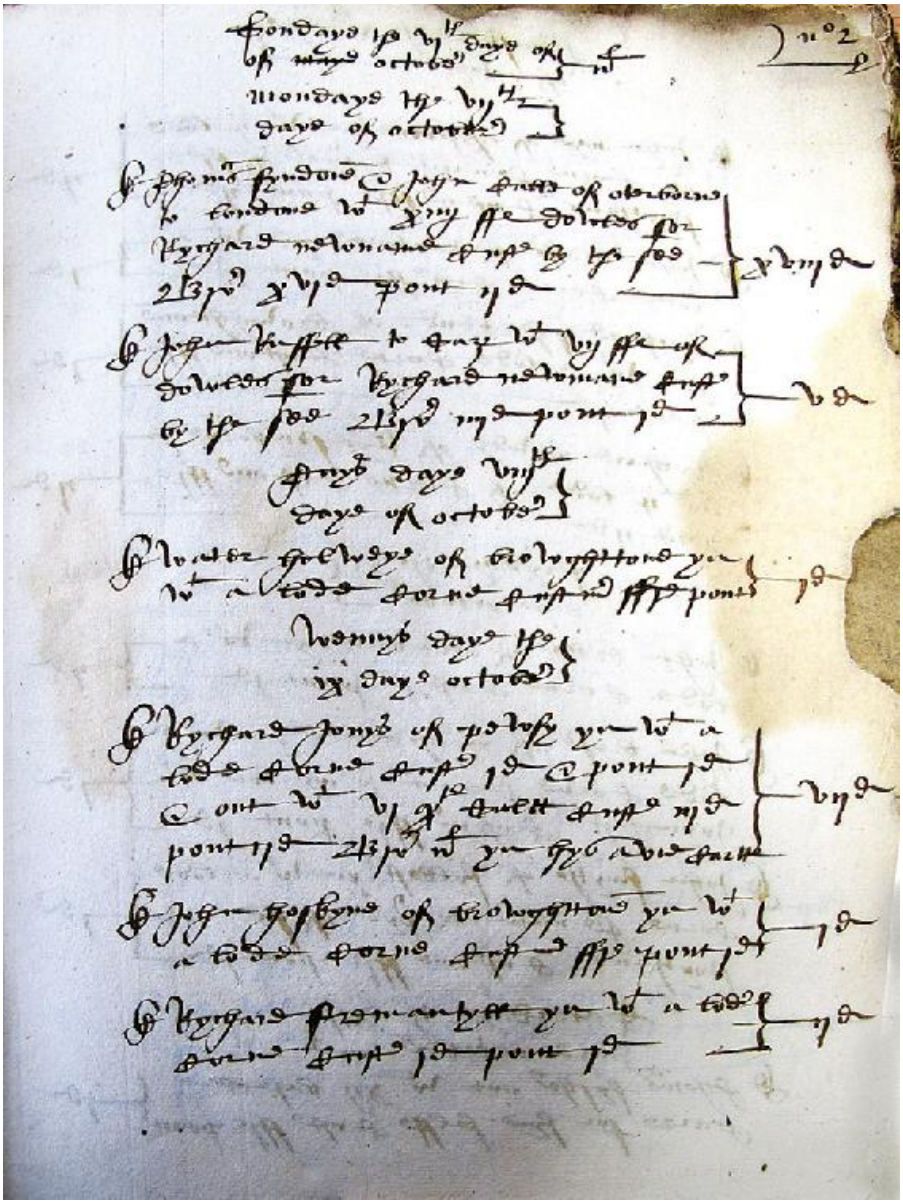


Figure 1.5: Handwriting and layout of SC 5/5/37 for 1538-9 written in English and showing use of Roman numerals in main text, Arabic numerals for page numbering at top right of page, clear format and fewer entries per page.

Each entry of each book consists of a one, two or three line paragraph, sometimes longer. Although the format remained the same throughout the period, the thickness of the books was determined by various factors, such as the volume of trade, the size of the scribe's handwriting and the amount of detail contained in each entry. For instance, on one occasion in November

1492, as many as 25 carters are named in a single entry leaving towards Salisbury (SC5/5/14v10). In some books, such as book 1, there are as many as 32 entries on a single page, whereas in book 36 and 37 sometimes there are only four, five or six entries per page; a big difference.

Each page of all books comprises a variable number of entries. A typical entry reads 'John Walton carting to Salisbury with 2 pipes oil for William Hore, custom 8d, brokage 4d, and pontage 1d' (SC5/5/8.5r6). This is a simple entry; many contain a lot more detail. It was the additional information which enabled the broker to calculate the correct toll which had to be paid, and which justified his decisions to the auditors who inspected his accounts.

Some books have been lost or damaged in the past 500 years. Book 1 is water-damaged towards the end of the book: only a fragment of the last page remains. The book for 1493–94 (SC5/5/30) is incomplete running from 1 October 1493 to 28 May 1494. For this reason figures for this year have not been used for some tables. However, since the weeks of each year are numbered, it is still possible to compare this book with others for the restricted period covered. In book 3, 36 verso and 37 recto have been left blank, most likely in error. Two folios of book 14 have been lost from near the middle of the book, so that 17 March on page xxiiii is followed by page xxix on 28 March. Two unused leaves of the bifolia (of which the lost pages were a part) had been cut away, maybe to make use of the spare paper. In books 29 and 30 there were inconsistencies in dating which have been overcome. The database has been designed to permit the addition of further books, for whole or part years, in future.

All the brokage books have been numbered by Southampton City Archives, from 1 to 56. Of these, 13 brokage books have been entered on the database: thus the book for 1447-8 is book 8, SC 5/5/8. Specific references to items are cited in form 8.57v7 – which signifies the eighth book (for 1447–8), folio 57, verso, entry number 7. To convert these to original manuscript references the prefix SC5/5 should be added.

The Brokage System

The contents of the brokage books only make sense in the light of the three tolls of brokage, local custom and pontage, which are discussed in turn below:

Brokage, a toll levied at the Bargate, was unique to Southampton. Whereas, elsewhere, brokage was a commission paid for arranging the sale of goods, in Southampton it seems to have originated as a fee paid for arranging the services of carters. By this period, responsibility for these arrangements probably no longer lay with the Bargate broker, but brokage continued to be levied since it was a good source of income for the town. As the amount of brokage due depended on the distance travelled, the broker recorded the name of the town towards which each cart was heading. For today's historian, it is this detail which is of such value, showing, as it does, the majority of those

places with which Southampton was linked through trade, and thereby making it possible to analyse the distribution of commodities from Southampton in this period. However, medieval sources are rarely ideal and there were occasions when the broker did not record the name of the town, because the cart was exempt from paying brokage.

There were two exemptions from brokage. Firstly, if a carter was using his own cart then he was not required to pay brokage; on such occasions the broker entered 'own cart' in his account. Thus we see on Monday 13 November 1447 that Richard Bele left with two carts with 10 barrels of herring, his own property, custom nil, in his own cart, pontage 2d. On this occasion, Bele paid no custom as the goods were his own property, he paid no brokage because the cart was his own, and was only required to pay 2d for the one penny pontage owed on each of the two carts. The broker did not indicate the town towards which Bele was travelling, since there was no need for him to do so; brokage was not levied and the distance to be travelled was irrelevant (8.11v6a). For today's historian it is particularly unfortunate that the destination (probably Salisbury) was not included on such occasions.

The second exemption from brokage was when the carter swore that the agreement to cart the goods had been made outside Southampton. Instances of this are infrequent, but we see that on Wednesday 29 April 1478 William Fry set off to Basingstoke with 1 dolium of iron on which he paid custom of 10d and pontage 1d. He paid no brokage and the broker wrote 'brokage nil agreement therewith' (22.39v13). On another occasion, when two millstones were carted for 'my Lord Chamberlain' [Lord Sandys] pontage was paid, but the broker clearly wrote 'carege gevyne' and no brokage was charged (37.38r4).

Apart from these two exemptions, brokage was levied on all carts, and the amount charged by the broker varied according to the distance to be travelled. The broker, therefore, needed to be familiar with distances involved and related charges. When Thomas Waren set out to Salisbury in June 1478, the broker charged him 4d brokage (22.46r6): Richard Pynhorn carting to Newbury in July the same year paid 6d brokage (23.14v7); and when William Spigott carried to London on 27 June the same year he paid 8d brokage (23.14r10). Eight pence, the maximum amount charged, applied to places such as Abingdon, Bristol, Coventry, Gloucester, London and Oxford; 6d for Farnham, Marlborough, Newbury and Reading; 4d for Alton, Andover, Basingstoke and Salisbury; and between 1d and 3d for Alresford, Hursley, Romsey and Winchester.

Local custom was a town tax paid on goods brought into or taken out of a town by land or sea. In Southampton this toll was frequently collected by the Bargate broker, but could also be collected 'at sea', on landing by the water bailiff. If custom had already been paid at sea, the broker noted 'per mare' in his records. This arrangement was generally used by the Italians. When Ingram Hewet and John Haywarde left Southampton with two carts with 20

bales of cotton bound for the Italian Demetrio Spinola in London, they paid 2d pontage and 16d brokage; this represented 1d pontage and 8d brokage per cart. They paid no custom since it had already been collected at sea by the water bailiff, as indicated by 'per mare' (8.22v6, 1447–48). Occasionally the accounts refer to custom being paid at the Watergate. A note in the brokage book of 1538-9 shows that on Saturday 7 December 1538, when frieze cloth was brought into Southampton for George Boleyne, it was 'customed beneath at the Watergate' (37.14r3).

Sometimes the broker wrote 'custom nil', sometimes 'custom free'. As Coleman observed, 'there was a clear distinction between the two'. Custom 'nil' was written when the goods were not subject to custom, and 'custom free' when the owners were exempt from paying.

There were three types of goods on which custom was not required to be paid. First, there were goods not on the petty customs list, such as household odds and ends and batteryware. Second, there were those which were for the household use of the owner, in which case the broker usually indicated *pro hospicio suo*; on such occasions the broker expected to be shown some sort of evidence. For example on 27 February 1440 John Hayward produced a bill to show that the 2.5 barrels of white herring were for his own house and the broker duly noted this, no custom was charged, only pontage and brokage (3.66v3). The third type of goods on which custom was not required to be paid was those which were taken out of the town temporarily. An obvious example is the cloth which was sent out of the port to be finished, mended and dyed in nearby Romsey before being returned for export (e.g. 8.13v6).

The broker wrote 'custom free' when the owner of the goods was exempt from paying custom. Many people were exempt from custom. *The Oak Book* of Southampton lists nearly 60 towns and groups whose burgesses were free of toll in Southampton. Five main groups of people were exempt: namely, burgesses of Southampton; burgesses of places which by charters previous to Southampton's charter of 1199 were free of toll throughout England; burgesses of places having agreements with Southampton for total or partial remission of tolls; certain noblemen and their tenants, including the king and duchy of Lancaster (e.g. Somborne, Wimborne); and, finally, certain religious houses and their tenants – notably the bishop of Winchester and priory of St Swithun. Such exemptions are particularly explicit in the 1527–8 book.

The following examples illustrate these exemptions. When the servant of John Walker of this town [Southampton] left towards Winchester with 1 pipe of wine of John Walker burgess of Southampton, the broker wrote 'custom free'. Walker was using his own cart, so paid no brokage and was only charged 1d for pontage (22.42r3). Coventry negotiated freedom of tolls in Southampton in 1456, with the result that when John Hoggsson left for Coventry with 1C bowstaves, three bags of alum and 1 dolium of wine of Robert Hurseley and Laurence Saunders of Coventry, the broker charged 16d for brokage, 2d pontage for the two carts, yet levied no custom (22.42v4).

Burgesses of other places with agreements with Southampton included those of Bristol, Gloucester and Salisbury. Such people enjoyed partial remission from custom on most, though not all, commodities. A list specified those commodities such as coal, millstones, porpoises, Spanish wools, white herring and woad which had to be paid at the full rate. In 1538 eight dozen wool cards valued at 53s 4d were taken from Southampton to Salisbury for Robert Dyer of Salisbury. Half custom of 4d was paid rather than the 8d custom which should otherwise have been charged (37.18r5). This sum can be compared with the seven dozen cards valued at 46s 8d for Master Wynskome [John Winchcombe] of Newbury, which were charged at full rate, the custom amounting to 7d (37.9r3).

Since the amount charged in tolls depended on so many different factors, the accounts are rich in detail, stating when, for instance, someone was a burgess of Winchester (37.42v3), a citizen and fishmonger of London (22.27v1), a freeman of London (29.9v7), a merchant of Bruton in Somerset (3.113r3), a tenant of the bishop of Winchester (38.5v3), the duchy of Lancaster (38.47v1) or of New College in Winchester [Winchester College] (28.10r6). When John Prior entered with malt on Wednesday 22 April 1478 and was charged no custom, the broker identified him as a tenant of the prior of St Swithun (22.39r6). Numerous examples such as these can be found.

The broker was also responsible for collecting and recording custom paid on goods which exchanged hands in the town. On Friday 5 June 1478 William Westcott paid 7d custom for the sale of one dicker of tanned hide and one dozen calfskins (22.46v3). He collected custom on the sale of pigs and horses 'for the selling of a donne horsse with a blaklyfte marke in the scholderys with brod arowhede', – custom both parties, 2d (13.87v5).

For some commodities, the amount of custom depended on the value of the goods. When John Corey left Southampton in March 1462, with three dozen hats, they were valued at 20s, and 3d custom was paid (38.79v3). On another occasion the broker took payment of one penny for the sale of candles valued at 20 shillings and a penny for cheese valued at 6s 8d.

Pontage was the third, and the simplest, of the three tolls. It was not unique to Southampton and the proceeds were used for the maintenance of bridges and ditches. Pontage was a 1d toll levied on all carts entering or leaving the town via the Bargate; the only exemptions were empty carts and packhorses. It is because pontage had to be levied on every cart, inward and outward, that the broker's records are so detailed. If it had not been so comprehensively applied, all carts which were exempt from brokage (when they belonged to owner/carter) and all people or goods exempt from custom, would have gone unrecorded. It seems certain that many packhorses were unrecorded. Pontage was not levied on horses. Nor was brokage. Horses and packhorses feature only when the goods they carried were customable.

Everything the broker recorded had a direct bearing on the amount charged

and for that reason only essential information appears in the book.

Because the broker was liable for all the dues recorded in the books, it seems certain that what they contain is reliable. The broker's records were liable to audit, the auditors being able if necessary to contest his assessments, although in practice they were difficult to audit and there is very little visible evidence of the auditors at work in the books themselves. Quite possibly brokers did not list everything exacted or excused/exempted traders, in which case the books understate rather than exaggerate, but the brokage books themselves omit any such data. No prosecutions or punishments of brokers are known. The broker did exercise some discretion and had the whip-hand in his dealings with carters and traders since they needed to use the Bargate in future. The books appear to reveal more legitimate exemptions in later years. Evasion or attempts at evading the payment of dues could be an issue. It appears to have been a requirement to show a bill indicating proof of status or exemption from paying tolls when passing through Bargate. Thus when Philip Benestede and Edmund Bulle arrived with eight loads of corn for the king, the broker recorded 'by their bill testified' (37.61v7). However, clearly this did not always happen. When Thomas Fyndone left with iron bound for Farnham, 'becawse he wold feche no byll nether show 'receipt', the broker charged him 2½d (37.10r1). Examples show that unless the carter swore on oath that he was the tenant of a bishop or similar, the broker would charge the full custom (37.43v4). Even so, if there was room for compromise, this could also happen. On one occasion the broker 'alowyd the hake but toke custom for the heryng', 6d being paid (37.42v5). The impression gained from these records is that there were either more attempts at evasion towards the end of the period, more incidences were recorded, or the character of the broker was such that it was worth trying to avoid payment. Whatever the reason, it is clear that when the broker felt he was in the right, he insisted on full payment: 'he wold not feche hys bylle wherefore made hyme paye the hole custome 12d' (38.21r8). The broker was certainly prepared to stand his ground. When on 13 December 1539 Nicholas Purdew attempted to go 'out att God's House gate', the broker penalised him: he 'made hyme paye for hys crafty desseytt', 2d (38.12r5). Neither was the broker prepared to suffer abuse. When he 'demandyd but 1d custom and pontage1d he [Thomas Batterer] 'callyd ytt pollynge, wherefore [the broker] toke the hole custom 3d and pontage 1d' (37.76r1). When John Hoskyne was asked to pay 1d pontage but instead 'went forthe perforce and wold note paye hys peny, wherefore [I] made hyme paye 4d for raynge of my gere with the durtt yn stryte' (38.10v7). The post of broker required constant interaction with carters, some evidently rather rough, and traders. Track had to be kept of their relations, past offences, credit extended etc. The brokage books themselves are not personal memoranda of this type, which suggests the need for personal records and justifications for past actions, presumably to the auditors and other town authorities. Any such ancillary records are now lost. Such evidence and the sheer number of sums successfully exacted

demonstrates the success of the broker in collecting what was due. The system was enforced.

Lewis writes confidently that the brokage books were written up from daily dockets, none of which survive for her year of 1448–9.[28] This cannot be substantiated but may be correct. For the system to operate effectively, it seems that the water-bailiff must have given receipts for local custom paid *per mare* that were produced to the broker to avoid double payment. For 1448-9 Harwood showed that some imports in the port book could be traced through the brokage book.[29] The reverse, tracing items exported back to the brokage books, has yet to be done. Books 33 and 37 do record six consignments of cloth brought into the town (some specifically for delivery to West Hall) on which no custom nor brokage was paid, pontage however being consistently charged (33.16v11; 33.18v9; 33.21v5; 33.21v12; 33.25v2; 37.83r3). Whether the broker ever allowed entry without charging local custom *and* pontage is not established, nor whether any paperwork was involved. A handful of memoranda suggest this was so.[30] It is likely that considerable paperwork subsidiary to the finished accounts was required which would clarify the operation of the system had it survived.

Harnessing the Potential

The Overland Trade Project was established to provide a more accessible way of searching, analysing and querying the wealth of data contained within this wonderful historical source. The main aim was to design and set up a database capable of identifying Southampton's trading network, the trade of individual places and specific commodities, and the overall patterns. Historians needed to be able to build profiles of people engaged in trade; to study the recipients and owners, the carters and their journeys, the commodities carried and the distances covered. It needed to cater for academic requirements, both known and yet to emerge, and also to enable those interested in Southampton's trading partners and the myriad families of carters and owners to extract the data they required. The database, itself a hugely valuable resource, has become even more valuable now the results are plotted on maps and the distribution of goods can be visualised.

While fulfilling all these aims, the database had to be set up in a way which accommodated variations between a hundred-years of brokage books, and which retained as much of the original data as possible. To remain faithful to the original fifteenth-century documents, while producing text suitable for use with modern technology, was not straightforward. A preliminary examination of the data revealed many inconsistencies in the spelling of names, commodities and measurements. A single surname or place name can appear in a variety of forms in the records and a single commodity measured in numerous ways.

The pilot project designed and set up an Access database. For analytical

purposes it added some extra fields and made decisions about the treatment of personal names, place-names and measurements, which had to be standardised into a form capable of being sorted, counted and analysed. Ground rules and conventions were set up. The database was refined as necessary and tested. Although incomplete, the value and scope could already be seen. The decision was therefore taken to proceed with further books: the full-blown Overland Trade Project.

Subsequently, the database was linked to a GIS mapping system in collaboration with the Geodata Institute at Southampton University. Geodata suggested and gave permission for the use of an indicative map of the routes the carters might have taken to get to their destinations.[31]

By linking the database and GIS mapping system, today's powerful technology and sophisticated methods of storing, sorting, calculating and presenting data, have enabled very close and critical analysis to take place. It is now possible to search, analyse and interrogate the data and to produce results expressed in a variety of ways, bar charts, line charts, pie charts, tables and maps, which help to identify trends and differences, and highlight the value and scope of the database and mapping technology. Data from 13 brokage books has now been added to the database and, to make the information accessible to all the database is hosted on a user-friendly website which was rigorously tested.

Originally it was hoped to digitise all the brokage books. This required at least two researchers for four years. Two applications for funding to the Economic and Social Research Council were highly rated but unfunded. Just enough funding was secured to carry on from the University of Winchester, Charlotte Bonham Carter Charitable Trust and The Pilgrim Trust. This enabled only one researcher (Harwood) working part-time over ten years to transcribe, translate, convert measurements and finally to input data. Rather than digitising all the books, the brokage archive had to be sampled. Eventually, perhaps, other books will be added. A sample of 13 books, covering 12 years, were chosen from the period 1430–1540. The first brokage book is 1430–1. The period studied ends with the books for 1538–40. After 1540 the books become shorter and less reliable. Southampton's most prestigious trade had already ceased with the departure of Italian shipping. Of the surviving books, 12 were lower priorities because they were largely duplicates (SC5/5/1 and SC5/5/2), covered less than a year (SC5/5/22 and SC5/5/23 and SC5/5/25 and SC5/5/26), contained fragments of other books (SC5/5/53 to SC5/5/56), or had restricted detail and poor quality handwriting. Of the remaining 30 books, 13 were selected. With the exception of the 1450s, the 1480s and the first two decades of the sixteenth-century, for which only one incomplete book exists, all decades have been represented. Complete books were chosen wherever possible. Since a particular year could have been deemed exceptional rather than typical, it was decided to input data from consecutive books where possible: for instance, books SC5/5/13 and SC5/5/14

for 1461–2 and 1462–63; SC5/5/28, SC5/5/29 and SC5/5/30 for 1491–2, 1492–3, 1493–94; and SC5/5/37 and SC5/5/38 for 1538–9 and 1539–40. Consecutive years have been compared, but this study does not explore short-term fluctuations in much detail. To accelerate the project, three edited volumes were also used, those of 1439–40 edited by Bunyard, 1477–78 by Olding, and 1527–28 by Stevens, the last two appearing in volume 28 of the SRS. The edited volumes were first checked against the originals.

Conclusion

The brokage books are a unique and wonderful source, but they are not perfect. The authors of this book have exploited what they reveal, whilst lamenting what is omitted. It is unfortunate that the original books survive somewhat unevenly – there are no books between 1505 and 1527 – and it was not possible in this project to digitise them all. It is often difficult to prove that individuals with similar names are the same or different (e.g. Thomas Jolyffe and Thomas Olyff). Bradley identifies Master Jacom and Harry Jacom as Harry Chacombe (14.28r3, 63v9, 74r11), free of the London Drapers' Company; John Holrede and John Colrede (14.28r3, 63v9, 74r11; 22.13v3, 12v8, 12v12, 14r2, 15r1) as John Collard (London Mercers' Company warden 1476), born in High Wycombe, who died at Antwerp in 1500; Master Carttes or Curtys, who sent tin to London 1538-9 (37.3v3, 67v6, 75v1), as probably the fishmonger Thomas Curtes (mayor of London, 1557), who translated from the Pewterers' Company in 1556 and might well have owned tin on the London route a decade beforehand.[32] The broker often anglicised Italian names beyond easy recognition. 'Jerome Tiple' was the Venetian Geronimo Tiepolo, agent for the Genoese Antonio Spinola.[33] Too often the broker failed to state the occupation or domicile of traders and carters. Such information is often recoverable from other sources and in retrospect an extra field to the database was desirable, but this project does not pretend to be a comprehensive prosopography of everybody mentioned. The researchers regret that the important distinction between carts and wains was unappreciated at the data entry stage. It is also important to appreciate that the brokage books are primarily a record of cartloads of merchandise through the Bargate on journeys of at least five miles. It does not itemise small quantities: this may be why verdigris, orpiment, sponges, frankincense, gum arabic, and spices like aniseed, cinnamon and nutmeg scarcely feature in the database.[34] Not only is incoming traffic under-recorded, but there is little about packhorses and nothing of commodities carried by hand, for example by the pedlars or chapmen who retailed all kinds of commodities at people's doors. Trade with Southampton was a component in the business of the port's partners, often crucial, but never exclusive, and its relative importance diminished quite rapidly the further away the destination was.

This chapter introduces the source and the system that generated it. For

more technical detail, see the Technical Foreword. Next James discusses Southampton itself – the point of entry and egress of overseas trade and a partner in every recorded transaction. Hare outlines the chronology and geography of the study as a whole and Hicks the calendar of trade and the haulage system. The heart of the study discusses trade with Southampton's principal partners – London (Bradley), Winchester (Harwood), Salisbury, the small towns of Wessex, and destinations beyond Wessex (all Hare). Hicks briefly reviews what the data contributes to the local history of recipients and to the family histories of the middling sorts. A series of shorter chapters overview the trade in particular commodities – wine, fish, requirements for the cloth industry, luxury goods, including spices and wax, and such miscellaneous goods as iron. Other commodities have not been explicitly discussed. There is a final Assessment chapter. All chapters are supported by 32 computer-generated maps, by pie charts and other tables that indicate the results that other researchers will be able to develop for their own studies from the website. Maps are collected in one gather; other charts are located within the relevant chapters.

Notes

1 E. Power and M. M. Postan, *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (2nd edn. London, 1953); M. K. James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, ed. E. M. Veale (Oxford, 1971); E. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1966); T. H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle* Ages (Cambridge, 1977).

2 T. S. Willan, *The Inland Trade* (Manchester, 1976); A. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' in *Agrarian History of England*, iv, 1500–1640, ed. J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1967), ch. 8; Everitt, 'The English Urban Inn', *Perspectives on English Urban History* (London, 1973); J. A. Chartres, *Internal Trade in England, 1500–1700* (Basingstoke, 1977); S. Letters, *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*, List and Index Society, sp.ser. 32–3 (London, 2003).

3 E. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers* (London, 1954), 279–91; M. Yates, *Town and Countryside in Western Berkshire, c. 1327–c. 1600* (Woodbridge, 2007), 100–2; J. N. Hare, *A Prospering Society. Wiltshire in the Later Middle Ages* (Hatfield, 2011); see also P. Merrick, 'The Administration of the Ulnage and Subsidy on Woollen Cloth between 1394 and 1485, with a Case Study of Hampshire', Southampton MPhil thesis (1997).

4 E.g. P. D. A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham, 1240 to 1400* (Oxford, 1965), 83, 97.

5 M. Threlfall-Holmes, *Monks and Markets: Durham Cathedral Priory 1460–1520* (Oxford, 2005); Harwood, thesis; Harwood, Iron and Wax, 1–28.

6 J. S. Lee, *Cambridge and its Economic Region 1450–1560* (Hatfield, 2005).

7 E.g. *Trade, Urban Hinterlands and Market Integration c. 1300–1800*, ed. J. A. Galloway (2000); M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995).

8 J. Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets* (Basingstoke, 1997); see also Galloway, *Trade*.

9 C. Dyer, *A Country Merchant 1495–1520* (Oxford, 2012); P. Slavin, *Bread and Ale for the Brethren* (Hatfield, 2012).

10 *The Haveners' Accounts of the Earl of Cornwall 1287–1356*, ed. M. Kowaleski, Devon

& Cornwall Record Society 44 (2001).

11 *The Accounts of the Chamberlains of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1508–1511*, ed. C. Fraser (Newcastle, 1987); Spencer Dimmock, 'The Custom Book of Chepstow, 1535–6', *Studia Celtica* 38 (2004), 131–50.

12 Actually further books exist down to 1566 (SRO SC 5/5/52).

13 G. R. Elton, *England, 1200–1640* (London, 1969), 122–3; T. B. James, *Southampton Sources, 1086–1900*, SRSer, xxvi (1983), xxxi.

14 *The Brokage Book of Southampton from 1439–40*, ed. B. D. M. Bunyard, SRSoc 40 (1941); *The Brokage Book of Southampton, 1443–1444*, ed. O. Coleman, 2 vols, SRSer. 4, 6 (1960–1); *Southampton Brokage Book, 1447–48*, ed. W. A. Harwood, Wessex Historical Databases 1 (2006); *The Southampton Brokage Book, 1447–48*, ed. W. A. Harwood, SRSer 43 (2008); *The Southampton Port and Brokage Books, 1448–1449*, ed. E. A. Lewis, SRSer 36 (1993); *The Brokage Books of Southampton for 1477–8 and 1527–8*, ed. K. Stevens and T. E. Olding, SRSer 28 (1985).

15 S. C. Duxbury, 'The Redistribution of Wine from Southampton in the Fifteenth Century', Minnesota PhD thesis (1996); Duxbury, Bonds of Trade.

16 E. B. Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, 1996), 99; Yates, *Western Berkshire*, 102–4.

17 Parts of this introduction were used in Harwood, *1447–8* and Harwood, *1447–8 CD*.

18 Platt, *Southampton*, 154–7, 160, 162; Quinn and Ruddock, *Port Books*, iii.x–xv, xx–xxxii; G. A. Holmes, 'Florentine Merchants in England, 1346–1436', *EcHR* 2nd ser, 13 (1960), 193–208, esp. 203, 205–6; Ruddock, 28, 44–5, 48, 54–5, 62–3; Bunyard, i.xxvii, xxxii; Coleman *1443–1444*, i.xxix; Harwood, *1447–8*, x–xi; Harwood, *Trade*, 142–3; V. A. Harding, 'Some Documentary Sources for the Import and Distribution of Foreign Textiles in Later Medieval England', *Textile History*, 18.2 (1987), 205–18, esp. 210, 214; W. R. Childs, 'Anglo-Italian Contacts in the Fourteenth Century' in *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*, ed. P. Boitani (Cambridge 1983), 65–87, esp. 67; Bridbury, *Clothmaking*, 78; M. E. Mallett, *The Florentine Galleys in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford 1967), 82; A. A. Ruddock, 'Alien Hosting in Southampton in the Fifteenth Century', *EcHR* 16 (1946), 30–37, esp. 33.

19 Unfortunately there are no detailed records of pesage levied by the earl of Warwick's weigher at Southampton.

20 Fewer Italian ships were seen in the Solent after *c*. 1470 due to a disruption in Anglo-Italian trading patterns.

21 Southampton Archives Services, SC5/5/1 to SC5/5/56.

22 Harwood, Trade.

23 Coleman *1443–4*, xi–xiii.

24 E.g. Coleman *1443–4*; Lewis.

25 E.g. Bunyard, Coleman, Lewis; see also below.

26 E.g. Bunyard, Coleman, Lewis.

27 E.g. Stevens and Olding, 211.

28 Lewis, viii.

29 Harwood, Trade, 147–161 and Harwood, Customs, 195.

30 Coleman, 1443–4, xv.

31 See Technical Foreword.

32 Boyd, *Drapers' Roll*; A. F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130–1578* (Aldershot, 2005), 187 n131, 218, 557; A. P. Beaven, *Aldermen of the City of London: Temp. Henry III – 1912* (1908), 20–47 [Chronological list of aldermen: 1501–1600].

33 TNA, E 122/142/11 f25v, 29v; probably related to Piero Tiepolo, one of 6 Venetians pardoned on 24 Mar 1507, *CPR 1494–1509*, 505.

34 See below Ch. 7 [Bradley].

Chapter 2

THE TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON AND ITS FOREIGN TRADE 1430–1540

Tom Beaumont James

The Port

Southampton enjoys exceptional potential for trade. As Bede noted, there are four tides a day due to the position of the Isle of Wight: high water from Spithead, to the east, is two hours later than that from the Solent, to the west. Southampton relocated from its Saxon site, variously called Hamwic and Hamwih, near the minster church of St Mary – the Saxon port being an important emporium – to a lofty site overlooking the River Itchen (Fig. 2.1). By the Elizabethan period the port area overseen from Southampton, whose mayor was its admiral (a term derived from arabic), was extensive: the port of Portsmouth in the east to Hurst in the west with jurisdiction over creeks grouped under Lepe, Lymington, Keyhaven, Hamble Rise and Letley (Netley) and some oversight of the northern part of the Isle of Wight. Admiralty courts were traditionally held on the seashore, as at Lepe in the period between 1493 and 1508, after which there was a break until 1566.[1]

Southampton was the head port in the area, important for military purposes, for much of the period 1430–1540 as an outport for London, and also an emporium for central southern and south-western England. As the brokage records show, Southampton's commercial hinterland spread to the midlands. Kendalmen from the north-west were well known in the town in the sixteenth century.[2] Henry V mustered troops at the town before his departure for what has become known to posterity as the Agincourt campaign of 1415, settling the challenge to his power in the form of the Southampton Plot against him as he passed overseas to war. Henry V's esteem for the town in 1415 was expressed in the grant of the right to acquire property to the value of £100 a year, a privilege which was to prove exceptionally valuable as wealthy Italians settled in greater numbers in the town during the fifteenth century and occupied such great properties as West Hall, purchased during the mayoralty

of Peter James in 1428–9.[3]

International Relations and National Politics

As a port on the southern coast of England, Southampton was in the front line in the French wars which continued fiercely through the early part of the period 1430–1540, and sporadically thereafter. Its fortifications probably dated to the reign of King John (d. 1216) and were the subject of continual expenditure thereafter throughout the late medieval and Tudor period. Southampton and areas of the Isle of Wight were sacked by Franco-Genoese raiders in 1338, after which the seaward, western area of the town was walled in, causing the trading focus of the quays to shift southwards from the West Quay to the Town Quay, and were threatened again in 1377. This led to an immediate refurbishment of the castle, in a four year campaign of works, 1378–82.[4] The town's defences remained in the front line should there be a French incursion as the war in France increasingly went against England after 1430.

That Southampton was an important military outlet and naval port, coupled with its front-line location, no doubt contributed to the willingness of the central government to make concessions to its burgesses. The charter of incorporation first granted in 1445 was soon to be followed in 1447 by another charter which rendered the town a county borough – the 'town and county' of Southampton. This gave the town increased autonomy and freedom from interventions by royal officials, such as the sheriff of Hampshire. Thus when the future looked bleak in 1454 and invasion threatened, the town authorities were able to take prompt action. The assignment of responsibilities to individuals and groups within the town for the upkeep of the town walls in 1454[5] indicates contemporary anxiety about potential French invasion after the defeat at Castillon. As far away down the carting route as Gloucester (spelt 26 different ways in the brokage accounts) a similar record was compiled in 1455 as word and worry spread.[6]

Although Southampton was not the focus of invasion following 1453, England and France continued in enmity throughout the remainder of the period to 1540. Henry VII, the victor at Bosworth, visited Southampton twice to reassure himself of the loyalty of this significant strategic port, and was met on both occasions with impressive displays of loyalty from the town government. In 1497 the Yorkist pretender Perkin Warbeck was arrested at Southampton and the mayor received a handsome reward of £40.[7] Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York, visited in 1499. In a throwback to Henry V and 1415, Henry VIII and his army were at the town in the years 1512–14 (the French campaign which coincided with the defeat of the Scots at Flodden in 1513). The Emperor Charles V visited in 1522, when he saw the Round Table at Winchester Castle with Henry VIII's features painted upon it, and embarked to leave the realm amidst much festivity at Southampton. In July

1545, setting sail from Spithead, the English flagship *Mary Rose* capsized and sank 'bound for action against an invading French armada'.[8]

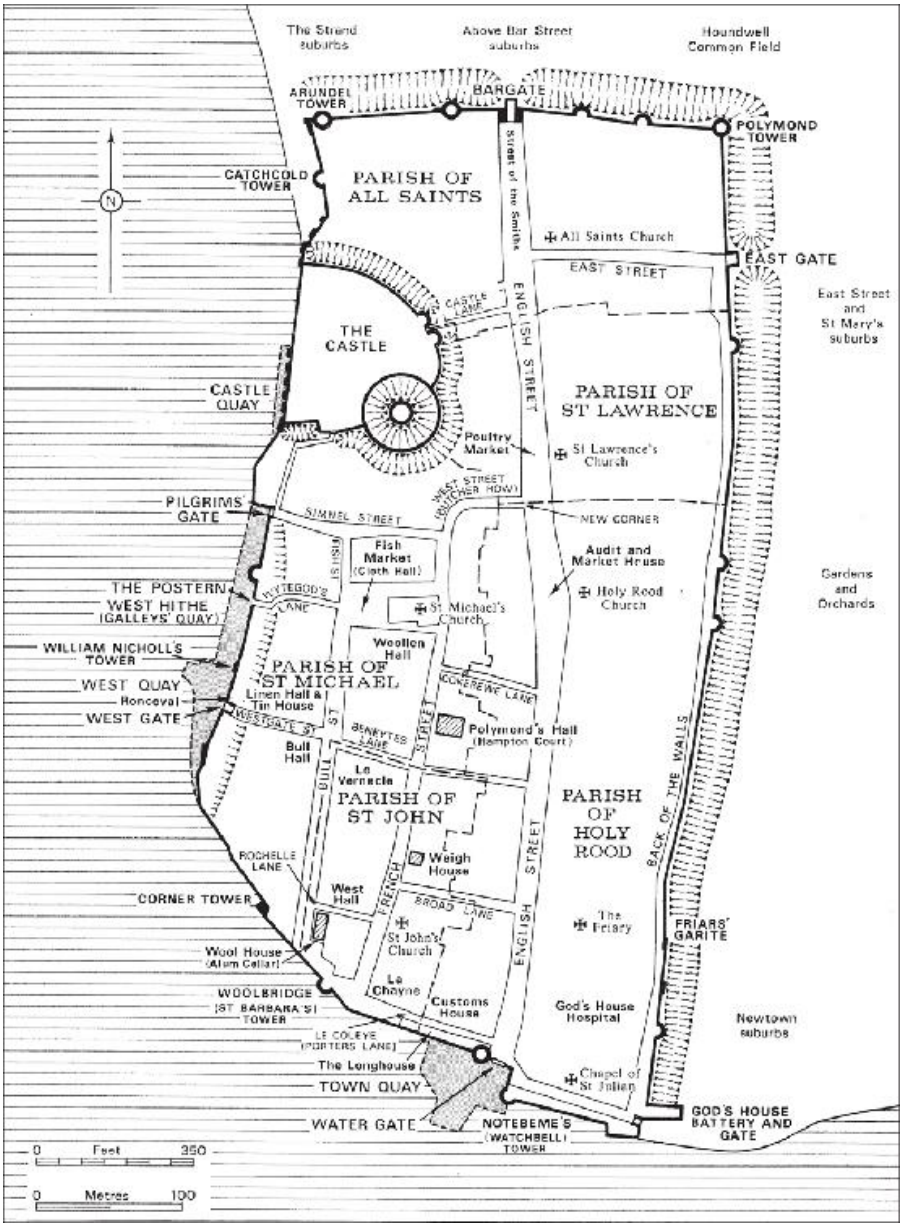


Figure 2.1: Map of medieval Southampton.

Domestic politics remained uncertain for much of the period. The Southampton Plot of 1415 against Henry V, the trial of conspirators in Southampton Castle where they were imprisoned, and their executions exemplified tensions within the royal house.[9] Civil war followed, providing a

difficult backdrop for the overland trade of the town throughout the remainder of the fifteenth century. However it is an ill wind which blows no one good, and in 1461, with the accession of Edward IV, the town obtained a further charter, confirming previous privileges and permitting them to select their own legal official or recorder. The Wars of the Roses were largely fought far from Southampton, but even after Henry Tudor had assumed the throne in 1485 all was not peaceful. The baptism of his son Arthur at Winchester in 1486 did not prevent uprisings from followers of the defeated Yorkists and claimants to the throne into the 1490s. The ever resourceful burgesses turned these events to their benefit and were rewarded in 1492 when Henry VII granted them the Staple of Mines 'as a compliment to the acknowledged energy of the burgesses'.[10] In 1515 the town, by means of customs concessions, attracted the Guernsey merchant traders away from Poole.[11]

Under Henry VIII the religious upheavals of the Reformation came to the fore. However, Southampton, which was to develop into a Puritan town, had few parish churches, a Franciscan Friary (Greyfriars) but no other monastery within the walls, and only the small Augustinian house of St Denys nearby.[12] The immediate effects of the Reformation on the town were therefore slight. Longer term effects are scarcely detectable in these overland accounts, although some major destinations for Southampton carters, the abbey at Beaulieu in the New Forest and the cathedral priory at Winchester, disappeared.

Population

Before the Black Death of 1348–50 the population of Southampton is estimated to have been *c*. 2,500. Current scholarship suggests that urban mortality could have been 55–60%, which would have reduced the population to something over 1,000.[13] At the poll tax of 1377 estimates for Southampton vary from 1,600 to 1,800. In 1596 a count of heads in the town gave a figure of 4,200. Between these two dates, during the study period, two population totals may be estimated from a local and a national source respectively: *c*. 2,500 in 1454, based on the Southampton property terrier of that date and somewhat fewer, 1,800 to 2,000 in 1524, based on the national lay subsidy.[14] If these calculations are correct, Southampton's progress was at odds with national trends which follow an upward trajectory throughout the period of this study in the period 1430–1540.

Although Southampton was not a major centre of population compared with London and such regional nodal points as Norwich, Salisbury and York, its population was unusual in two respects. In the first place, as an outport for London, especially while shipping from Iberia (both Spain and Portugal) and the Mediterranean in the Channel was under threat from the French, it continued to enjoy visits from galleys of Venice, Florence and Barcelona, whose numerous crews swelled the population, and, at times when a large

fleet was in port, maybe doubled it. Trading links brought numerous people from the Mediterranean and from the Iberian peninsula to Southampton who appear in the records in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century.[15] In 1435, for example, seven Portuguese ships unloaded goods valued at £100 at Southampton, while in the same year three Spanish vessels unloaded goods worth £860.[16] Genoese carracks had appeared in the port from *c*. 1300 and were still coming during the fifteenth century when they were joined by ships from Savona and Naples, Ragusa and Majorca.[17] To load their cargoes they, and their crews, might remain in the port for many months.

Second, Southampton with its diverse peripatetic overseas population was very much an open society welcoming alien merchants and seamen. Italians brought their skills as well as their trade. Thus we find that Gabriel Corbet (Corbizzi), a Venetian who took an English wife, Mabel, introduced organised accounting in columns along Italian lines to the town stewards' accounts *c*. 1440 when he held town office.[18] Fifteenth-century Italians were certainly ahead of their provincial English counterparts in such matters as insurance of cargoes. This depended both on the nature of the cargo and the mode of transport. Thus in 1445 a cargo of wool worth 1,200 ducats shipped from Southampton to Venice paid a reduced insurance premium of 3% because it was transported on board the safer, faster and more easily defended galleys.[19] Christopher Ambrose was a Florentine who, like Corbet, took out papers of denization and held the town's capital tenement at La Chayne among an extensive portfolio of properties in the town including storage undercrofts and lofts. Ambrose was elected to town office and even to the mayoralty in 1486–7 and 1497–8. He also took on an English apprentice, James Harrison, who learned the skills of accounting and perhaps of double-entry book-keeping.[20] These Italians were exceptions, but the town also attracted many other outsiders, some from Northern Europe, but the vast majority from England. Most of those who became mayor in this period were not born in the town.

Early twentieth-century female scholars and their successors during the women's liberation movement of the 1970s and 1980s identified the era between the Black Death and the reign of Queen Elizabeth I from 1558 as a golden age for women. Women emerged from domestic and family duties into the world of work and occupied positions in commerce and trade previously open only to men. That such liberation extended to the artisan group in society was apparently evidenced at Southampton by the existence of a guild of female woolpackers. About a dozen at any one time, the woolpackers were documented with 'rules' from 1502. Their occupational grouping clearly predated that evidence but was in decline by 1554, ironically when a queen came to the throne. Their role involved the covering of measured weights of wool, 750lbs each, with canvas 'at the request of any merchant'. The open nature of Southampton's society to women in the later Middle Ages has been challenged in a detailed feminist study that concluded that women were oppressed into largely domestic roles in the later Middle Ages. Although they

did appear in trade records as traders of seaborne goods and as individuals in the brokage books, their contributions were very small, and, from a sample of brokage records, were consistently very low. The 1447–8 brokage book reveals no female carters, no female suppliers, and a maximum of eleven recipients, none Southampton residents. An open society at Southampton is an illusion so far as women were concerned and the appearance of the female 'woolpackers guild' no harbinger of a golden age for women. Although this was a dedicated group with a defined occupation, they had no autonomy and were strictly governed by the mayor and corporation, unlike male guilds, which made their own particular rules. Women were allowed to take part, but this amounted to some local trade rather than to more distant destinations which remained the sphere of influence of the mercantile elites. While male local traders had other occupations, the women had none: their 'other occupation' was in the home. Even compared with women at Salisbury, Southampton women's activities were circumscribed by the entirely masculine gendering of mercantile activity in the port.

Southampton women during the period of the brokage records were not without opportunities within the constraints of home and marriage. Some married Italians: Agnes Overay who died *c*. 1462 and had previously been married to Bartolomeo Marmora; Mabel Corbet has already been mentioned. Dorothy Guidotti (née Huttoft) in 1549 was hosting an alien merchant. However in the primary era of alien hosting in the fifteenth century, no female host appears: before 1549 the researcher has to go back to widow Petronilla de Fleming *c*. 1250 who was then among the leading hosts. Jones concluded that Southampton women may well have had a greater and more independent role to play in the mid thirteenth century than they did in the later middle ages.[21]

Trade and Industry

In 1430 the Florentine Luca Albizzi brought his galleys to Southampton, was made very welcome by the mayor, and was taken by the royal official, banker and entrepreneur William Soper to see the great ship *Grace Dieu* which had been built at Southampton and was the largest vessel to be constructed in England before the seventeenth century.[22] It was against a background such as this that the overland trade records were initiated.

Already, before 1430, when we first perceive evidence of overland trade in the novel brokage records, Southampton had become an outport of London and also a centre where foreign merchants could trade at beneficial rates. Local port book customs accounts beginning in 1427 show this.[23] Because of London's privileges, it often made more sense for Italians to land goods at Southampton 'because they could take them direct to English fairs and customers', that is to say without London middlemen reducing profits.[24] On the other hand, during the anti-alien upheavals of the 1440s, which followed

the introduction of the alien hosting regulations in 1439 and the lawlessness which accompanied the later decades of Henry VI's reign, the Italians were uneasy in England. What they reported home as the 'great combustion' of Jack Cade's rebellion was only part of a period characterised for their community as one of anti-alien sentiment. Between 1460 and 1463 the anti-alien section of the burgess group, led by men with London business connections and so perhaps inspired by anti-alien feeling in the capital, seized control of the town by force at the mayoral elections.[25] Even after those favouring the alien presence in Southampton, aware no doubt of the importance of their trade, returned to power in 1463, rumblings continued that the mayor was shielding an Italian resident in his house from the courts. Relations with aliens did not settle until the Yorkists were on the throne after 1470.[26]

Nonetheless in the 1440s it was reported that Southampton 'abounds in merchants, sailors and mariners who flock from distant parts to that town with an immense quantity of cargoes, galleys, and ships plying with merchandise to the port there'.[27] While this royal perspective on the port may have been over optimistic, there is ample evidence of flourishing activity in maritime Southampton. In 1440 a 'great carrack of Venice' brought in cotton and ginger among much else. The brokage books record wealthy local merchants such as Walter Fetplace (mayor in 1419, 1426, 1432, 1439, 1444), who distributed goods to Salisbury and many cloth producing centres of Hampshire and south-west England. Other Southampton merchants, such as Peter James, five times mayor in 1428–47 and a neighbour of Fetplace at Broad Lane, pursued other trade specialisations. In his case it was wine which he imported and frequently sent to Oxford. The Genoese imported woad (dye) for onward transmission to London. Venetian galleys loaded up with the primary commodity of English trade, wool and secondary items such as finished cloths, including western 'dozens' and kerseys.[28] Cloth exports were significant throughout the fifteenth century the income they generated being legally diverted by royal command for work on the defences in 1469, in 1477 and again in 1511. A survey of the town armaments in 1468 showed a brass muzzle-loading gun at Bargate. Others at strategic points around the circuit of walls, flagged a range of priorities for defence of the town alongside wall-strengthening, and for which money had to be found from trade and commerce.[29]

Following the recession which succeeded the joint horrors of the 1338 raid and the Black Death, the resumption of the French wars in the early fifteenth century contributed to recovery for the town. Thereafter seaborne trade with Florence, Genoa and Venice burgeoned, especially following the Anglo-Genoese treaty of 1421, which coincided with the fleeting apparition of English hegemony in France following the victory of Agincourt and the Treaty of Troyes which led to the marriage of Henry V and Katherine of France, and the birth in Henry VI of a joint heir. Nonetheless the untimely

death of Henry V was precursor to a decline in English fortunes in the French wars. Meanwhile in Southampton special arrangements were made in the port to record this trade. These were represented in the port records by a separate *Liber Alienigenus* for aliens (those from beyond England) and a *Liber Communis* for local merchants. However, these distinctive elements in the records had disappeared by 1509 when the cargoes of the large, alien ships, were interspersed somewhat awkwardly among the records of local shipping.[30] These trade accounts correspond with the appearance of the brokage books and at the same period highlight something exceptional in Southampton's overseas trade. This expansion of overseas trade at Southampton built on long-term trading routes developed in previous centuries.

This apparent golden age of overseas trade at Southampton extended beyond the end of the Hundred Years' War in 1453, and was represented in the archaeological record by evidence of conspicuous consumption at the top end of society, as discussed below. Both Iberian and Italian trade decreased in the later years of the fifteenth century, so that by the 1490s there was only an 'occasional' Spanish ship at Southampton compared with London, notwithstanding the betrothal of Katherine of Aragon first to Prince Arthur Tudor in 1489 and subsequently to his brother Henry. With this drop in the early Tudor period, the practice of separate accounting for aliens in the port books declined and had ceased by 1509. Italian trade decreased because of wars between the Italian city states, and successive foreign invasions of Italy from 1494, and the diversion of the spice trade from Italy to Portugal following the opening up of the Cape route.[31] North of Portugal, Antwerp became a terminus for the spice trade away from Italy and Bruges increasingly flourished: hence the palpable rise in the Southampton archaeological record of pottery from the Low Countries and elsewhere in northern Europe, discussed below.[32]

Overall English overseas trade did not decline in the same way and actually peaked in the last five years of Henry VII's reign. Nonetheless as 'London capitalists' exerted their financial muscle.[33] Southampton's export trade, for example in wool, which went exclusively to Italy, declined exponentially at this time from 1,219 sacks in 1503–4 to 673 in 1509–10 and 91 in 1510–11. In 1511–12 the paltry 25 sacks exported by aliens were counter-balanced by a surge to 353 sacks exported by denizen merchants. Exports of cloth were both an indication of growing quantities and sophistication of cloth production in England as the economy was developing from a primary to a more complex commercial base. The brokage records provide insights into the changing nature of Southampton trade and commerce. The 276 journeys to London in 1492 declined to 97 (1527–8), 76 (1534–5) and 57 (1542–3).[34]

As such declining figures suggest, by the early 1530s the town accounts were coming under increasing pressure. Petitions for release from royal dues between 1530 and 1535 refer to the fall in customs income and the increasing

absence of Mediterranean carracks and galleys. French attacks on shipping further reduced customs income in the late 1530s. By 1540 the Italian galleys had made their last trip to Southampton and the 'great days of Southampton's medieval trade were coming to an end'. In 1542 the town complained of an inability to pay the fee-farm to central government.[35]

To what extent did Southampton and its inhabitants benefit in the period 1430–1540 from all this trade through the port and overland? Many years ago Alwyn Ruddock and Olive Coleman developed a theory which has become known as the 'Coleman thesis' that Southampton benefited little from all this trade through port and Bargate in this period. The essentials set out by Ruddock (1949) were reinforced by Coleman (1963) who set out to demonstrate 'how it is possible for the prosperity of a port to bear little relation to the activity concentrated in it'.[36] The 70 towns with exemptions from 'toll' in Southampton in the early sixteenth century were cited as an aspect of this. Trade was largely in the hands of aliens in the fifteenth century and London 'capitalists' in the early sixteenth.

By 1968 Ruddock appeared to have changed her mind over the 'Coleman thesis'. Trade to Southampton included 'commodities from every corner of the medieval world'. She drew a contrasting picture from the perspective of Southampton and its people from those about the London capitalists (1949) and second about the wealthy Italian community at Southampton between 1270 and 1600 (1951). While conceding that the trade in spices from the east was 'a virtual monopoly' of the Italians, she noted in 1968 that drugs came in for English apothecaries (there are inventories of their sixteenth-century successors in Southampton), that sweet wines from the eastern Mediterranean were 'becoming rapidly popular in England' in the fifteenth century, mentioned Spanish leather (again found in probate inventories), and much else. 'The distribution of these commodities throughout England was largely in the hands of the big wholesale merchants and burgesses of Southampton'. Lighters, skiffs, carts and general overland transport were in the hands of local Southampton people. The decline of Italian trade provided opportunities for English merchants from the late fifteenth century and 'made some Southampton merchants very wealthy by contemporary standards', enabling them to fund the houses noted by John Leland *c*. 1540: houses 'crammed with oriental carpets and carved furniture from overseas, their tables loaded with silver plate, sparkling Venetian glasses and colourful platters from Spanish and Italian potteries'. She closes her description with a snapshot of the rich attire these men wore around town.[37]

How may these views of famine and plenty for Sotonians be reconciled and is there more to add? Ruddock's merchants were contemporaries of the London 'capitalists' of her 1949 article. But there is ample additional evidence of financial benefits to the town during this century of commercial activity from 1430–1540. Harvesting brokage tolls is one example,[38] petty custom in the port another. Hosting cost the Italians and benefited their hosts.

So far as accommodation was concerned aliens were not allowed to own property and individuals benefited from their rents. Supplying food and drink, servicing the ships which came, engaging in all the retail, storage and redistribution activities identified by Ruddock contributed to the local economy. The town attracted men from a wide geographical area in Britain and Ireland and from further afield, from the Low Countries, Iberia and around the Mediterranean.[39] In Ruddock's words: 'The vogue for all things Italian which appears so often in the plays of Shakespeare was already in full swing in Southampton half a century before the birth of the greatest English playwright'.[40] To what extent has more recent study of archaeology and material culture in Southampton cast further light on what Coleman and Ruddock derived from the written sources and a walk round the town?

The Built Environment, Material Culture and Standards of Living

The Black Death of 1348–50 was highly significant in western European development in general and in Southampton in particular. Studies of architecture and the arts, of vernacular building and ceramics all demonstrate an apparent decline in skills and complexity, and in some cases skills were apparently lost. As shown below, this may be the explanation for a complete break between the 'garish hues and exuberant forms' of local pottery manufacture before the plague, and the utilitarian uniformity of such wares found in the fifteenth century.[41] Other evidence of simplification of form occurred around this time in the change from Decorated to Perpendicular architecture and is much debated. Holy Rood Church was relocated and rebuilt in the decade following 1321: the characteristic rich and labour-intensive Y-tracery of the Decorated style is clear to see, fossilised in the remaining fragmentary west window, despite bomb damage during the Second World War.[42]

Southampton houses at this period were broadly divided in the 1454 survey into three types: capital tenements, tenements and cottages. The capital tenements were, perhaps courtyard houses. One such was Polymond Hall (Tenement 237 in 1454), the site of which was recently excavated. It faced on to French Street. Taking its name from a late fourteenth-century burgess, its occupants in the fifteenth century included a Venetian consul. Finds included an exceptional amount of Italian pottery and also other imported wares, among much else, and, a further indication of wealth and high status at this time, there was a significant quantity of jointed meat bones (i.e. prepared for sale elsewhere, presumably at a butcher's premises, and so of higher status) and the remains of a gyrfalcon (hunting bird), imported from Scandinavia or Iceland.[43]

Other properties were 'right-angle' houses, with the short gable to the street. This type was certainly in existence in the early fourteenth century, the

date of a surviving timberframed example at 58 French Street (now English Heritage's Medieval Merchant's House, see Fig. 2.2). This type predominated in the Tudor period, when probate inventories give evidence of a single ground-floor shop, or room next to the street. There is still a good deal of uncertainty about specialised forms and functions of urban houses, but they were on the whole rectangular in plan, a feature which 'peasants would not have observed on their visits to their landlord's manor house'. Nor would they have observed cellars, such as that at 58 French Street, of the form so common in Southampton, beyond the undercrofts of the aristocracy.[44] Among rare surviving probate inventories of the period 1430–1540 is that of John Davey, 1516, whose house and 'schoppe' with a fore and a back chamber is almost certainly of that type, providing us with a survey of the contents of such a property, discussed below.[45]

Figure 2.2: 58 French Street, now English Heritage's *Medieval Merchant House*.

Cottages in 1454 may be a misleading term: a cottage may indicate a house without an undercroft. Excavators at Tenement 167 on High Street of material from the period *c*. 1350–1510, as at Polymond Hall, also recovered diverse pottery including imported wares (Low Country and Rhenish wares), and a wide diversity of forms, including a tripod cooking pot, pipkin, dripping pans and olive jars. Associated food remains included duck, deer and swan: evidence of interior décor included a bi-chrome floor tile decorated with fleur-de-lys, all of which belie the notion of a 'cottage' as low-grade

accommodation.[46]

At Southampton, as at Winchester, there is little surviving evidence of house-building after the Black Death until the fifteenth century. The great house at 42 High Street, Winchester, like 58 French Street at Southampton, also belongs to the building boom of pre-plague years. In Winchester the next recorded building is an inn of 1412, and the surviving shops in The Pentice of 1459–62. At Southampton we are short of dendrochronology, but there is evidence of a building resurgence from documentary sources from the second quarter of the century. Another surviving timber-framed property, the Red Lion in High Street, Southampton, is 'late-medieval' and may belong to this building boom, perhaps dating to the earlier part of the fifteenth century. Now a public house, its form suggests it was originally a fine, galleried, residential property.[47] It continued a tradition of undercroft-building beneath if all the structure is of a single date.

The most extensive survey in 1975 identified substantial remains of some 29 medieval houses in Southampton. These included four substantially surviving timber frames at 58 French Street and the Red Lion mentioned above, The Duke of Wellington and Tudor House. Most were represented by surviving undercrofts. Plans of undercrofts in 23 buildings were published, Tudor House, for example, including additional undercrofts. These dated broadly from the thirteenth century to the late-fifteenth century: the majority probably from the period before 1400 with the earlier vaults (i.e. the ceilings) probably better built than those that came later. Southampton's capacious undercrofts (e.g. Figs 2.3–4, 5.4) explain how large quantities of wine, grain and alum were stored for many months at a time as indicated in later chapters. How useful such largely underground structures were for storing grain remains conjectural. The increased rat and rat-predator populations found in Southampton in the century leading up to the Black Death might have encouraged storage of grain in purpose-built granaries. The four twelfth- and early thirteenth-century houses were all double-range buildings which combined warehouses on the ground floor with accommodation. These might have been more suitable for grain. It was no doubt their convenient proximity to the port facilities at Southampton that these undercrofts contributed to the Italians' decision in the 1450s to relocate from London to Southampton rather than Winchester. Winchester was supplied with numerous undercrofts built before the Black Death, such as that at 42 High Street by the Butter Cross. In contrast to Southampton, where undercroft construction persisted after the plague and continued until *c*. 1500, at Winchester when building began again in High Street at The Pentice between 1459 and 1462, expensive undercrofts were not included.[48]

Tudor House at Southampton, which includes a significant phase dated by tree-rings to 1491, exemplifies development in the town by grandees from England who came to the port as overseas trade declined. The documentary record of building at Southampton in the fifteenth century, if not the physical

standing remains, resonates with a 'dramatic' surge in building activity nationally in the middle years of the fifteenth century.[49] Nationally dendrochronological evidence suggests that in 1500 'urban building was in fairly precipitous decline' and may also apply to Southampton as elsewhere in Hampshire. The fifteenth century had seen development of some specialist types of structures, such as inns in Hampshire, including at Southampton.[50] Maybe it was the benign neglect of the decline in building in early sixteenth-century Southampton which gave such charm to the town's appearance and encouraged John Leland *c*. 1540 to describe High Street at Southampton as 'one of the fairest streates that ys yn any town of al England', while noting its timber-framed construction and praising certain select properties, such as Tudor House.

Figure 2.3: The Undercroft, Simnel Street, Southampton.

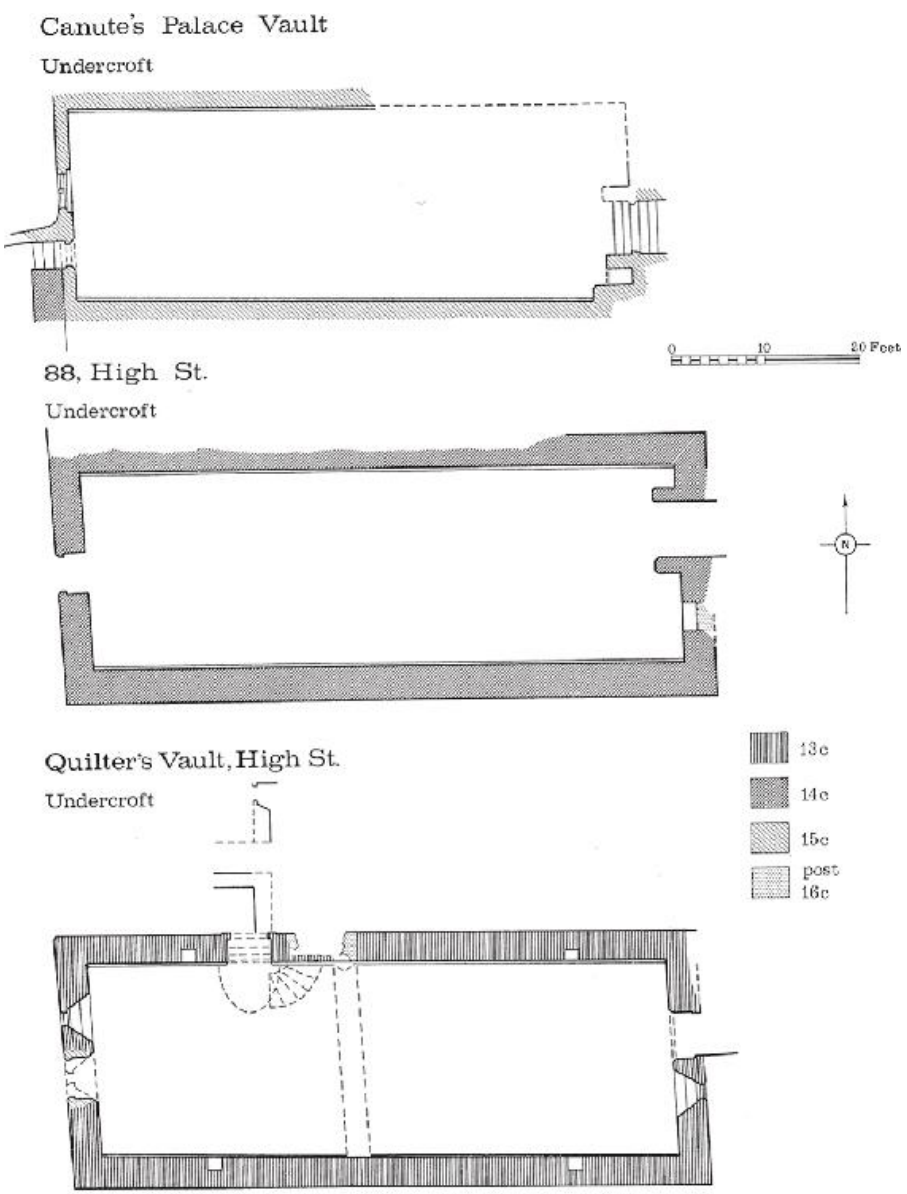


Figure 2.4: Three surviving vaults of medieval Southampton houses.

There is a useful snapshot of housing within the walls in the terrier of 1454, when over 500 properties were located in the town. Of these the corporation owned 26, a figure which had tripled to 75 by 1500 including 47 houses, and also undercrofts, lofts, a shop, a weir, 'grounds' and gardens. Whereas there were many vacant plots in 1428, the evidence of corporation landholdings shows the number had declined significantly by the end of the century. In the westerly parish of St Michael's 11 vacant plots in 1428 had reduced to one and two gardens by 1454, and to a single 'ground' and a garden in the 1490s

with a substantial number of houses.[51] Such evidence of demand for housing, infilling and development all suggest a significant building boom in the town during the fifteenth-century era of the brokage records. Brokage itself was developed as part of a wider corporation strategy, including property acquisition and rents, to maximize income streams in the town, not only to benefit the town government but also the people. This wider agenda explains the petition of 1477 for assistance from the national government to compel property owners to fund paving in the town. In 1482 a town paviour was appointed, with the requirement that individual property owners take responsibility – as for the walls in 1454 – for paving the streets outside their properties. In this respect carters were the villains of the piece. Their iron-shod wheels were a 'great annoyance to the town in breaking the pay[v]ments of the same'.[52]

Water-supply in Southampton was long associated with the Greyfriars, whose house stood towards the south-east corner of the town. As the town government extended its remit and responsibilities in the early fifteenth century, the water supply was refurbished and made more available to the general population. Refurbishment in 1420 consisted of the raising, melting down and recasting of the lead pipe from Hill, west of the town walls, its replacement in the conduit and the creation of a bifurcated (two pipes of equal diameter) plumbing arrangement in Holy Rood parish which not only supplied the Friary, but also, under the supervision of the town authorities, provision of a common cistern and stopcocks for townspeople. Otherwise water came from wells such as that at Polymond Hall (T 237).[53] Private supply of fresh water, such as that purchased from the corporation by the grandee-burgess John Fleming in 1515, was highly exceptional and perhaps unique until, with the Reformation, another wealthy burgess, Sampson Thomas, gained control of the concessions from the Friary, just prior to the Dissolution, to pipe water to his property in nearby High Street.[54] The comparative lack of an adequate water supply is often quoted as the reason for the lack of industry at Southampton, although this did not apparently deter the French-speaking immigrants from their cloth manufacturing enterprises after 1567.[55]

Snapshots of interiors of houses and business premises at this period are found in probate inventories, of which three fall within the period 1430–1540 and a fourth, that of Richard Smyth of 1545, lists the possessions of a Sotonian who may have been a carter in the 1530s, although there is no explicitly carter's gear in his property at the time of his death. He did, however, own a small 'crayre' (boat) at Portsmouth which was to be sold. Smyth's document is not an inventory in the sense of a valuation of his goods room by room, but rather a valuation of various possessions, (including coral beads and silver gauds), many of which were to be sold for the benefit of his two daughters' board. The daughters were being bothered by a man whom their father considered unsuitable, hence the details of arrangements: their mother was apparently dead. The girls may have been remaining in the house.

Smyth's Catholic will is supported with resources set down in his inventory with expenses including several clergy, a knell, torches etc. at his burial and arrangements for his 'month's mind', when three priests were to be paid and money was provided for a firkin of beer, for cheese and for a 'pygge'.[56]

The three earlier inventories are those of Richard Thomas, merchant (1447); Massie (Matthias) Salman (1495), possibly a cloth merchant who had been mayor in 1494 (the inventory is incomplete); and John Davey (1516, probably a shearman). Thomas's lengthy inventory contains a significant number of weapons, handguns, lances and pole-axes emphasising the war footing of the time. There are also indications of foreign imports, for example quantities of Prussian, Spanish and Swedish iron, Baltic deal, Rouen hoods, an Irish mantle, Prussian thread and some wine. Apart from jewels (valued at £93) and some silver, there was a quantity of myrrh and English cloth such as worsted. There was a ship valued at £35 and significant amounts of nautical gear, anchors, masts, sails, spars and the like. Salman's incomplete inventory of 1495 covers only part of the living accommodation, but no business premises. Davey in 1516 possessed four 'Jene' (?Genoese) platters 'of erth' and 100 Flanders 'cruses' (liquid containers) and 100 Flanders nails.

Despite the differences in date and social distinctions, the three pre-1540 inventories had much in common. All the lists began with appraisal of the hall, other chambers being mentioned including parlours and kitchens. Arrangements for lighting with candles abound: Salman had a fine six branch 'Candelstik'. Tapestry and painted hangings were common along with chests, benches, cushions, bed linen and pillows.

Among the cultural changes in this period detected in the archaeology of Southampton was a steep decline in the use of rubbish pits for the disposal of waste. This gives a uniquely new character to the archaeology. Finds have been recovered from the closure of structures such as garderobes and undercrofts, a phenomenon not clearly understood, but characterised not only by the large ceramic assemblages recovered but also by the exceptionally high quality of the finds recovered, such as glass.[57] The excavators of the 'French Quarter' (extending from High Street to French Street towards the west of the town) recovered a remarkable range of glass dating to the period *c*. 1350–1510 comprising 'domestic, Italian/Millefiori, Venetian, French and German vessels'. These are one of the finest assemblages recovered in recent years and include 'some currently unparalleled examples', such as a possible fragment of Islamic glass, so far unique, with a suggested date in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.[58] Also found was a diverse collection of glass from northern and southern Europe dating *c*. 1500–50: this included a glass pedestal beaker bearing an enameled male head in profile, of a kind made in France at that period, and characteristic flasks matching examples from the *Mary Rose* lost in 1545. From earlier excavations exceptional glass – fragments of over 90 vessels of Venetian glass from Simnel Street in 1976 – has been associated with Roger Machado, Richmond Herald to Henry VII, who was sent as

ambassador to Spain and Portugal in 1488.[59]

In pottery production after 1350 and before 1420 'almost all the [common] coarse and sandy wares had been replaced by a range of uniformly plain, utilitarian products'. The production centres of the preceding period [dated to *c*. 1250–1350] had declined and ceased functioning by 1400. Between *c*. 1420 and 1550 there was a recovery. Deposits are 'far more informative' and 'contain a completely different range of ceramics'.[60] The distinction between coarse wares (for jars/cooking pots) and sandy wares (for jugs) disappears and sandy ware predominates. These wheel-thrown local wares remained utilitarian, a characteristic emphasised by the appearance of refined Surrey wares – mainly Tudor Green, but also Whiteware. Whereas in earlier periods there was little difference between local jugs and such fine imports as Saintonge ware from France, contrasts were much greater in the fifteenth century, when jar/cooking pots, bowls and jugs were produced locally in the sandy fabric. In form there are more bowls and plates and fewer jugs and jars overall in the fifteenth century. All such forms were also imported in our period: cooking pots from the Low Countries; bowls from France, the Low Countries Spain and Italy; jugs principally from Spain and Italy.[61]

What changes dramatically in this period, described as a 'profound cultural change', is this very significant increase in imported wares, which comprise – in a study published in 2002 – over half the total sherd weight in this period. War against France for a century after the Black Death witnessed a predictable decline in imported French wares, which nonetheless included new fabrics such as stoneware. There was a concomitant decline in French residents in the town compared with the two Anglo-Norman centuries which had followed 1066. The decline in French pottery *c*. 1450–1550 was balanced to an extent by a rise after 1500 in imports from the Low Countries, notably the characteristic Redware of that area. In the late fifteenth century Rhenish true stonewares, most especially the Raeran-type jugs with frilled bases, predominate from this source. At the same time there is an increase in the appearance of Spanish wares, especially the coarsewares from around Seville, and Valencian lustrewares, accompanied by a single sherd of Aragonese Muel ware.[62]

It was noted in the 1970s that Italian ware began to appear in Southampton archaeological contexts in the later fifteenth century, at a time when Italian influence in Southampton was beginning to wane. However, more recent work has identified a range of Italian sources for pottery in the fifteenth century – Faenza, Florence, Monteculpo, Pisa together with rare sherds from the Ligurian coast (maybe linked to long-term Genoese contacts with the town back to the thirteenth century), and perhaps a putative fragment from a Venetian production area.[63] What is noteworthy here is that documented links with Italian city states as traders in the port and residents in the town, are not mirrored by equivalent imports by quantity of Italian wares. Italians, and no doubt other continental European traders and visitors, did not bring their own

pottery with them for use in Southampton – or, if they did, they preserved it in sufficiently good shape to take it home with them. At the West Hall, one of the prime properties in Southampton in the fifteenth century and occupied by Florentines in 1429 and 1454 and by the Genoese Marini later in the century, only two sherds of Italian pottery have been recovered (admittedly from a comparatively small assemblage), most including Low Countries kitchenware and especially Iberian wares designed for transporting commodities such as olive oil. These finds represent finds of kitchen waste. From *c*. 1500 at Quilter's Vault some 90kg of pottery was recovered, again attesting extravagance, 45% of the total being English. Of the imported wares, 27% were French, 24% from the Low Countries, 23% Rhenish, and Iberian 21%. Italian pottery trailed at 5%.[64]

What is significant and absolutely clear is that imported wares make up a very much higher proportion of all the pottery excavated in the town in the century or so from *c*. 1450, that period with which we are concerned: 49% English wares; 16% Low Countries; 11% Rhenish; 10% French; 9% Iberian; 5% Italian. Assemblages from this later medieval period, and especially in the late fifteenth century, are not only diverse in character – as might be predicted in a cosmopolitan port – but are 'astonishing' in magnitude, suggesting that there were people in late-medieval Southampton who flaunted their consumption through the diversity of appearance of their crockery and also required large amounts for their entertainment – readily described as conspicuous consumption, or 'showing off.' [65]

In the built environment, in material culture, and in standards of living there is no doubt that the period 1430 to 1540 in Southampton stands out from both the preceding period since 1350 and the succeeding one, when the port declined and the wealth of the town with it.

Conclusions

In 1430–1540 in Southampton enjoyed a significant boom in trade and commerce associated in particular with the presence of Italians and other 'strangers' in the town who enhanced its trading profile, and thus its customs income. The snapshot of property within the walls provided by the 1454 terrier has been argued to have occurred perhaps 'at the time of its greatest prosperity'.[66] The town government and population benefited from this situation, especially during periods of national uncertainty provided that central government had resources and was prepared to invest in the town, its defences and its port. Towards the end of the period the population level of 2,500 in 1454 was reduced perhaps to under 2,000 in the 1520s. From this period until the study closes in 1540 increasingly steep decline is visible not only in population, but also in trade and commerce. The tailing off of the brokage records is one indication of this state of affairs.

Fifteenth century Southampton society was dominated by royal officials

such as the project manager of the *Grace Dieu* programme, the banker William Soper, and wealthy burgess families such as the Fetplaces, Flemings and Jameses, alongside Italians, Iberians and those with London connections. By 1500 things were changing. Only one major Italian family, the Genoese Marini, remained in the town. The long-established Fleming family continued to flourish at Southampton until they benefited at the Dissolution from former monastic lands and left the town for a life as manorial lords. There were still English grandees such as Sir John Dawtrey, builder of Tudor House in the 1490s. After 1518 Dawtrey's widow, at the instigation of Henry VIII himself, married Sir Richard Lyster, who became chief baron of the exchequer.[67] New families which came to the fore included the Huttofts, protégés of Dawtrey, the Thomases and the Lysters, who all had connections with the court through positions in the port which was producing substantial income in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Circumstances had undoubtedly changed. These families were not headed by local men. The Thomases had Welsh connections, shared with the Tudor monarchs, the Lysters were northerners, and Huttoft bears a locative surname from Lincolnshire where Bishop Waynflete of Winchester had originated, bringing others of Lincolnshire extraction with him. The so-called London capitalists occupied some of the spaces vacated by the Italians, Catalans and other aliens, but other new men in the town had more local origins and connections and were keen to try out new ideas. Thus Thomas Bory (Isle of Wight) and Robert Ronanger (Basingstoke) were among a local group who sought new, western, horizons for trade from Southampton, initiating trade to Brazil *c*. 1540. Bory called the ageing Genoese merchant Nicolao de Aguero (Nicolyn Marini de Egra) 'my welbelovyd frend', apprenticed his son to the Italian, and appointed him guardian of the boy.[68]

The material world of the period 1430–1540 was predominantly one of wood and stone, materials which had to be brought to the town. Southampton's stone structures, castle, defences, stone houses and undercrofts with their stylish stone vaults, largely predate the period under discussion with the exception of the declining number of undercrofts created in the later decades of the fifteenth century. Any stone had to be brought to the town, mostly from the Isle of Wight, in what must have been major projects by sea and ashore into the town. There are few records from the Norman Conquest to *c*. 1270, when the Italian community began to exercise its power in Southampton, yet the material remains of the stone houses, warehouses, undercrofts and early defences indicate significant wealth in the town. Town society dominated then as later by migrants was diverse, wealthy merchants and wealthy women topping society. This was perhaps the golden age for Southampton in the middle ages. Beyond the surviving stonework, there survive some once-ubiquitous timber houses today from *c*. 1430–1540, but the vast majority of timber and wooden objects are lost to us: the 'cipers' (*cupressus*) wood, Baltic and 'spruce' (Prussian) wood, wainscot, the ships

timbers, masts and spars, more mundane wooden furniture such as chests, benches, tables, 'treen' table ware are all gone, as are basketry, leather and fabrics.

What remains to illustrate culture throughout town society at all levels is the pottery, the ubiquitous necessity of everyday life for all. This provides an unique and unrivalled insight into native and migrant society 1430–1540. The opening up of a gap between the skills of local potters and their alien counterparts whose products were imported seems clear. The exotic ceramics, glass, imported commodities of trade and lifestyles of those who lived in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Southampton indicate the town's connections through the Mediterranean with extended trading routes to the east. Such trade and its concomitant lifestyles required the capital of international and metropolitan merchants and traders to make it work. It provided the work for the carters. The decline in trips to London later in the period, described above, illustrates the falling off of these links. As the Mediterranean closed, and when the anti-alien disturbances of the fifteenth century were followed by the Reformation and destruction of the old, papal religion based on Rome, England turned in on itself. The corner of the curtain raised for the people of Southampton on the wider world fell once more, and although exotic materials were found in Elizabethan Southampton and later the quality, quantity and capital base was never the same again.

Why then did Southampton not succeed in achieving a smooth transition from its fifteenth-century heyday of Italian shipping to a new phase in the sixteenth century when English merchants became the carriers of exports and the bringers of imports to the south coast? The reasons were inevitably complex. As early as 1453 Constantinople had fallen to the Turks, limiting Italian power and commerce in the eastern Mediterranean. Turkish sea power increased and continued to do so until the battle of Lepanto in 1571. Along with the increased profits of Mediterranean trade in English hands, there were increased risks such as the rise of the Barbary corsairs who captured Hampshire ships and sailors. Such long-distance trade was hazardous. In the fifteenth century Italians found it worthwhile to pay alien taxes and rents in Southampton. In the sixteenth century money was tighter: Henry VIII impounded the galleys and even had their masts sawn off. Henry Huttoft's son-in-law the Italian Antonio Guidotti went bankrupt and fled to Italy in the 1530s. Venetians impounded Huttoft's ship the *Margaret Hart* for a year in which the cargo became worthless and the ship derelict. Such were the dangers of capital investment for modest capitalists from the provinces. Huttoft survived, but his peers must have observed his tribulations with anxiety. Maritime design improved, ships now sailed readily direct to London, tacking round the North Foreland, and were guided by Trinity House, founded in 1513. War with France was more sporadic. London merchants engaged with the Mediterranean trade direct, but the Venetians captured back the trade after 1525. Given the risks in the Mediterranean outlined above, Londoners

sought new markets, increasingly sailing to and trading at Antwerp, which excluded Southampton from its role as an outport for the capital.[69]

There was not only a sharp decline in revenue in the port. Customs revenue in 1469 had been £395, quite sufficient to pay the fee-farm of £226. Such was the decline that even a reduction in 1531 was insufficient, so that the arrears were nearly £2,000 in 1549 and the farm was reduced to £50 in 1552.[70] Central government was also running out of money. The shortage at the central exchequer was a contributory factor to the Dissolution of the monasteries and the nationalisation (or rather the temporary augmentation of royal income) of their assets. Fortunately Southampton was not dominated by religious houses and the Dissolution therefore affected the town less than, for example, its neighbours and important destinations for imports, Salisbury and Winchester.

1430–1540 was the period of greatest prosperity in Southampton in the late medieval and early modern period. It is not surprising to see record-keeping, which included overland charges to swell the coffers of the town, burgeon alongside the petty custom from the port. Neither seaborne, nor land-based, trade and transport ceased in 1540, but the income from the port had, as shown above, seriously declined and the income from the brokage road tolls similarly fell sharply. Between 1528 and 1540 income from brokage was never below £30 in a year, and in 1537–8 rose to £44. From 1541 to 1566 when these records cease the income never again rose above £30, fluctuating between a high of £27 (1554), and a low of a mere £12 in 1545–6.[71] Thus the brokage records were born out of the success of Southampton's late medieval golden age and mirror the town's commercial and economic rise and fall over the following century or so.

Southampton had recovered spectacularly from the raid of 1338 and the pestilence of 1348–50. Its increasingly powerful mayor and his brethren ruled over a deeply masculine mercantile culture. Powerful women are found in the national records of the fifteenth century. A woman may have run a bell foundry in London or a trading enterprise in Salisbury, but in Southampton women remained constrained within a patriarchal system in gendered roles and within the family. Even the woolpackers failed to break these bounds, for like the only other outworkers, the prostitutes, their behaviour was controlled by the mayor and corporation.[72]In Southampton there was no golden age for women. While Mediterranean merchants and shipping abounded and Londoners used the port, all was well for the men, but when international and national conditions changed there was insufficient capital and resources in Southampton to go it alone and the brokage records evidence that collapse of commerce.

Notes

1 *The Admiralty Court Book of Southampton, 1566–1585*, ed. E. Welch, SRSer 13 (1968), map and introduction. The term 'admiral' is first found in English *c*. 1300. See also *The*

Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, ed. C. B. Butler, SRSer 41 (2007), xix–xx.

2 For an overview of brokage see Harwood, 1447–8 CD; Harwood, 1447–8; B. C. Jones 'Westmorland Pack-horse Men in Southampton' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, new ser. 59 (1960), 65–84. Edward Willmott (town official from 1549) had the Dolphin Inn in High Street when he died in 1570, his inventory recording contents of 'the Kendalmens chamber', *Southampton Probate Inventories 1447–1575*, ed. E. Roberts and K. Parker, SRSer 35 (1992), 282, 286. The Dolphin today is partly on the same site.

3 T. B. Pugh, *Henry V and the Southampton Plot of 1415*, SRSer 30 (1987); Platt, *Southampton*, 169–70; *The Southampton Steward's Book of 1492–3 and the Terrier of 1495*, ed. A.Thick, SRSer 38 (1995), xxvi, notes that this grant regularised corporation property acquisition begun in 1401.

4 Platt, *Southampton*, 127–8.

5 *The Southampton Terrier of 1454*, ed. L. A. Burgess, SRSer 15 (1976).

6 *Rental of all the houses in Gloucester A.D. 1455*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Gloucester, 1890); Winifred Harwood, pers. comm.

7 Butler, *Book of Fines*, x and n. 8.

8 Platt, *Southampton*, 198; E. Bradford, *The Story of the Mary Rose* (London, 1982), 6.

9 Pugh, *Henry V*, 122.

10 Platt, *Southampton*, 165.

11 *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton 1514–1602*, i, *1514–1540*, ed. A. L.Merson, SRSer 2 (1952), 27–8 and n1. The concession was withdrawn in 1553.

12 *The Cartulary of the Priory of St Denys near Southampton*, ed. E. O. Blake, SRSer 24, 25 and microfiche (1981, 1982).

13 O. J. Benedictow, *What Disease is Plague?* (Leiden, 2011), 299, which suggests that rural mortality in England was 55–60% in the Black Death and that it is unlikely that urban mortality was any higher.

14 *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton 1514–1602*, iv, *1590–1602*, ed. T. B. James, SRSer 22 (1979), introduction, for a discussion of the town's population development in 16th century. Reconsideration of the figure for 1454 suggests the population may have returned to the pre-1348 figure by that date. See also T. B. James and N. A. Price, 'Measurement of the Change in Populations through Time: Capture-Recapture Analysis of the Population of St Lawrence Parish, Southampton 1454–1610', *Journal of European Economic History* 5 (3) (1976).

15 For the lavish furnishings of a Catalan galley patron's cabin in 1449 including Arras tapestry, 'dishes, plates and goblets of silver … and a coffer for books' etc., see Rance, *Southampton*, 54.

16 W. R. Childs, 'Anglo-Spanish Trade in the Later Middle Ages (twelfth to sixteenth centuries)' in Gerrard, *Spanish Ceramics*, 21.

17 Butler, *Book of Fines*, viii n.3; Gerrard, *Spanish Ceramics*; A. A. Ruddock, 'Medieval Merchants and Shipping' in *Collected Essays on Southampton*, ed. J. B. Morgan and P. Peberdy (Southampton, 1968), 53.

18 Thick, *Steward's Book*, p. l, n. 23 for Corbet's ruled columns for pounds, shillings and pence, unique in 15th century stewards' accounts.

19 P. Spufford, *Power and Profit. The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (London, 2002), 32–3.

20 E. A. Fennell, *Figures in Proportion: Art, Science and the Business Renaissance*, booklet for 1994 exhibition on 'The Contribution of Luca Pacioli to Culture and Commerce in the High Renaissance' (London, 1994); Platt, *Southampton*, 170; for Ambrose, see Butler, *Book of Fines*, 172.

21 S. Jones, 'Keeping her in the family. Women and Gender in Southampton, *c*. 1400–1600', Southampton Univ. PhD thesis (1997), abstract, conclusion and pp. 116–132.

22 S. Rose, *Southampton and the Navy in the Age of Henry* V, Hampshire Papers 14 (1998).

23 T. B. James, 'Southampton and Spain in the Sixteenth Century to the 1588 Armada: A Sample of Sources for Ceramic Study' in Gerrard, *Spanish Ceramics*, 41.
24 Spufford, *Power and Profit*, 48.
25 Butler, *Book of Fines*, x.
26 Ruddock, 162; Platt, *Southampton*, 153, 175–6.
27 *Ibid*. 153
28 Ruddock, 131; Platt, *Southampton*, 155–6,
29 Platt, *Southampton*, 172, 174, 197.
30 *The Port Book of Southampton 1509–10*, ed. T. B. James, 2 vols., SRSer 32, 33 (1990), 278.
31 *Ibid*. viii–ix.
32 D. H. Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton* c. *1066–1510*, CBA Research Report 133 (2002), 28; see also D. H. Brown, 'Iberian Pottery Excavated in Medieval Southampton' in Gerrard, *Spanish Ceramics*, 319–28.
33 A. A. Ruddock, 'London Capitalists and the Decline of Southampton in the Early Tudor Period', *EcHR* 2nd ser.2 (1949), 147.
34 Stevens and Olding, xii.
35 Platt, *Southampton*, 198–9; among the last references to galleys in the town, in 1534–5, were proceeds of the sale of forfeited property of a galleyman 'that killyd his Felowe', Butler, *Book of Fines*, 160; Ruddock, 'Medieval Merchants', 55.
36 Ruddock, 'London Capitalists', Coleman, 19.
37 Ruddock, 'Medieval Merchants', 53–6.
38 See below, Ch. 7.
39 T. B. James 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400–1600', St Andrews Univ. PhD thesis (1977), passim.
40 Ruddock, 'Medieval Merchants', 56.
41 Brown, *Pottery*, 173.
42 P. Lindley, 'The Black Death and English Art: A Debate and Some Assumptions' in *The Black Death in England*, ed. M. Ormrod and P. Lindley, Donington (1996); P. Marter, 'Pottery Production and Kiln Sites in England, *c*. 1000–1600', Winchester PhD thesis (2008); T. B. James, *The Black Death in Hampshire*, Hampshire Papers 18 (1998); Platt, *Southampton*, 88, 96, 119–21; Brown, 'Pottery', 157.
43 A. Bates 'Animal and Bird Bone', 232–3; E. Rothery and L. Fairbrother with R. Brown, 'Chapter 2. Documentary Evidence' in *Trade and Prosperity, War and Poverty. An Archaeological and Historical Investigation into Southampton's French Quarter*, ed. R. Brown and A. Hardy (Oxford Archaeology Monograph, 15, 2011), 27–8; R. Brown and A. Hardy, 'Chapter 7', in *ibid*., 232–3, 290.
44 E. Roberts, *Hampshire Houses 1250–1700* (Winchester, 2003), 183, 187; D. A. Hinton, *Archaeology, Economy and Society. England from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century*, (London, 1990), 163–4.
45 Roberts and Parker, *Inventories*, 11–13; Edward Roberts, pers. comm.; see also Fig. 2.3.
46 Brown and Hardy, *Trade & Prosperity*, 67, 290. However, Rance, *Southampton*, 50–1 notes that the early-13th-century 'Undercroft' at the junction of Upper Bugle Street and Simnel Street, with its ribbed vault and a fireplace, had three cottages above it in 1454. As undercrofts had separate entrances, there was no reason for overground elements of the structures to be jointly occupied or owned. The Undercroft is an unique structure in the town.
47 Roberts and Parker, *Inventories*, xvi; E. Roberts, pers. comm.
48 C. Platt, 'Introduction', in *Excavations in Southampton, 1953–1969*, i, ed. C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith (2 vols. Leicester, 1975); P. A. Faulkner, 'The Surviving Medieval Buildings', in *ibid*., esp. 78–124; B. Noddle, 'The Animal Bones', in *ibid*. 333; T. Beaumont James and E. Roberts, 'Winchester and Late-Medieval Urban Development: from Palace to Pentice', *Medieval Archaeology* xliv (2000), 181–200.

49 Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, 194; Platt, *Southampton*, 182.
50 J. N. Hare, 'Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England, 1350–1600', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), 477–97.
51 Thick, *Steward's Book*, xxviii.
52 Platt, *Southampton*, 171.
53 Brown and Hardy, *Trade & Prosperity*, 277, fig. 7.6. Rance, *Southampton*, 51 notes a fountain in the later middle ages in the West Hall courtyard.
54 Brown and Hardy, *Trade & Prosperity*, 144, 181, 207.
55 R. A. Pelham, 'Medieval Southampton' in *A Survey of Southampton and its Region*, ed. F. J. Monkhouse (British Association for the Advancement of Science, Southampton, 1964), 212–3.
56 Roberts and Parker, *Inventories*, 2–15.
57 Brown, *Pottery*, 158.
58 Brown and Hardy, *Trade & Prosperity*, 290.
59 Willmott, 'Glass' in Brown and Hardy, *Trade & Prosperity*, 182–198.
60 The phases in the pottery survey vary somewhat at different points, but are broadly helpful. High Medieval or phase 3 is dated to 1250–1350 and 1350–1430. Later Medieval, or phase 4, is variously dated to 1430–1510 (p. 96), 1420–1550 (p. 103) and 1450–1550 (p. 157). It is these last two phases, and especially Late Medieval/phase 4, which concern this study.
61 Brown, *Pottery*, 18, 157.
62 *Ibid*. 35, 37–40, 157.
63 C. Platt, 'Introduction', in *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, ed. Platt and Coleman-Smith, ii. 25; Brown, 'Pottery', in *ibid*. ii. 37–42.
64 Brown, 'Pottery', 166, 167.
65 *Ibid*. 93, 156, 162–3.
66 Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, 8. While this is true of late medieval Southampton, there may have been more wealth among local people in the town in the 13th century, the period when it was rebuilt in stone, local potters made more sophisticated wares etc.
67 James, 'Geographical Origins', ii, appendices.
68 Ruddock, 250; James, 'Geographical Origins', ii, appendices.
69 A. L. Merson, 'Southampton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in Monkhouse, *Southampton*, 219.
70 Ruddock, 'Medieval Merchants', 55–6; Rance, *Southampton*, 61.
71 Stevens and Olding, 218.
72 Jones, 'Keeping her in the family', 217.

CHAPTER 3

THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE BROKAGE BOOKS

John Hare

Introduction

The brokage books of Southampton are a unique source with enormous potential for our understanding of the later medieval economy. They allow examination of the relations of a port with its hinterland, for one of the most important provincial ports of the period. Southampton might have started out as another south coast port with particularly natural benefits, but in the period 1430–1540 it possessed two defining economic peculiarities. It was a natural outlet for a hinterland that was increasingly important as one of the most dynamic cloth-producing areas of the country, as this industry became of increasing importance in the national economy. Some of the cloth was sent directly to Southampton, some was sent to the London markets, collected in the capital and then sent overland to Southampton. Secondly, Southampton was frequently the preferred and regular destination of the Italians, who brought to the port the Mediterranean goods unavailable elsewhere in the country. Cloth and the Italian trade made Southampton one of the most important ports in the country. The Italians were outsiders, but they and other aliens brought prosperity to the town. They needed services: naval stores, food and refreshment, loading and unloading, storage of goods before and after shipping, freight charges and duties and the visits of agents and servants. The large carracks and galleys remained in port for several weeks of bustling activity.[1] Mid fifteenth-century accounts of the hosts make clear how much of the sales of the imports could stick to the local economy.[2] Later in the fifteenth century, Italian domination was followed by that of another group of outsiders: the merchants of London. Thus Southampton combined being the most important provincial port in the country with a dependence on foreign merchants.[3] Although this study is about the port's inland trade, it is essential to start with its maritime activities. It was the imports from the ships that

provided the goods for Southampton's inland trade.

Southampton's main imports, which became the goods of its overland trade were wine, fish, spices and other Mediterranean luxuries, and goods required by the cloth industry (woad, alum, oil and soap), all examined in Chapters 12–15. Other goods are dealt with more briefly in Chapter 16. In return Southampton exported cloth, but also wool, tin and lead. Sadly, the record of goods being brought overland into the town is a good deal less comprehensive than those being sent inland.[4] Moreover, items such as tin and lead was normally brought into the town by coastal transport from the producing areas and thus do not appear in the brokage books.

Agricultural produce, other than that of southern Europe, was generally not important as an import. The port's hinterland included the fertile chalkland valleys, so it was generally not necessary to import grain from outside the region. Most references to grain record its entry into the town by cart rather than to it being sent away. Much may have been for the town's own consumption, to feed the town and the ships. Wool was an important export item for Southampton, where most of its exports were in the hands of the Italians, as well as an important raw material for the textile area around. The chalk downlands of Wiltshire and Hampshire possessed some of the greatest sheep farming areas and probably their wool was largely consumed by its own textile industry. Wool for exports largely came from further north in the Cotswolds. It was unusual for wool to be sent inland from the port.

Southampton's Maritime Trade (see also Chapter 2)

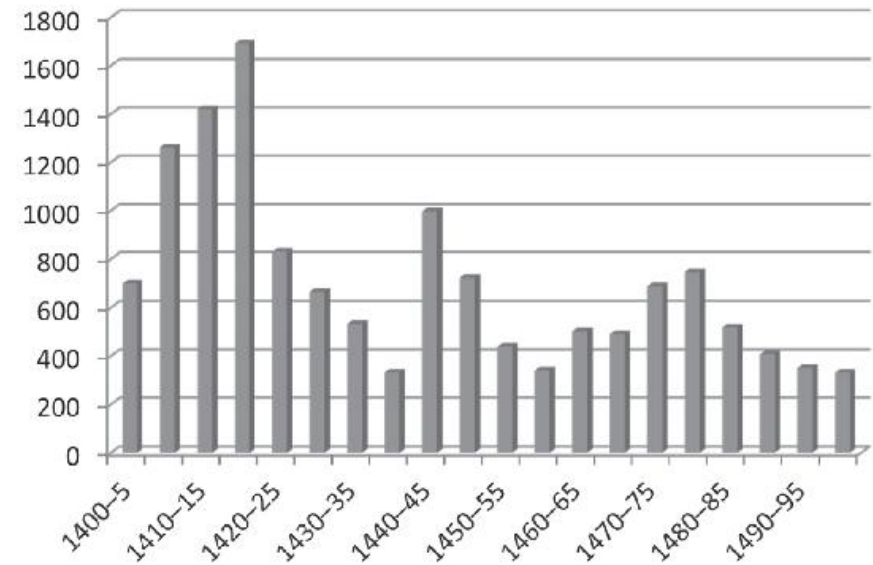
The brokage books tell us little about where the goods had come from. More can be found from the records of ships in the local port books, although these frequently fail to state where the ships originated.[5] Apart from the Italians, who frequently sent their goods overland for sale in London, it was unusual for the foreign traders, whose ships brought the goods into the port, to trade inland. Instead they sold their goods in Southampton to English merchants from the port, the towns of the hinterland, and above all in the great market of Salisbury. Southampton was part of the regular coastal trade around England, mainly in the south and south-east, from Cornwall to Norfolk.[6] This carried a wide range of goods, but with a few main long distance journeys. Fish were brought into the town particularly from the south-west, from the east coast (above all from Suffolk), but also from the south-east, for consumption by the town and its hinterland. Slates and tin were brought from the south-west, with the slates largely for internal use and the tin for exporting abroad. Other goods were more limited, coal from Newcastle and the north east and lead from Hull and its hinterland, and also from Newcastle. The coal was mainly for regional use, the lead for export. Lead and tin were important items of export, but rarely figure in the brokage book, being brought by sea. The absence of much stone in the brokage books suggests that such bulk goods brought in by

coastal trade were unloaded, away from the main town quays, at places like St Denys (now a Southampton suburb), and thus failed to go through the Bargate and the brokage books. Southampton was both the focus of such coastal trade and occasionally the start of it. In 1439–40 of the 200 tuns of wine that were imported, 60 were sent out by sea.[7] As the port books suggest, trade consisted both of long distant coastal journeys and of short term local trade in which a ship might briefly enter the port, drop off a few goods or collect a few more to take on to the next port. Southampton was a centre of redistribution by sea as well as by land. Probably most of the shipping entering the harbour was such local traffic, a maritime version of some of our overland carters.[8]

Southampton's trade in this period was characterised by that of the Mediterranean and the Italian states, with their great carracks and galleys. This was initially dominated by the Genoese whose carracks arrived with woad and alum, the produce of the Mediterranean and other goods gathered en route for England. Florentine galleys came from about 1430 to 1480. Finally, the Venetian state galleys arrived regularly, if not in all years from 1434 to the 1530s. After the anti-alien riots in London in 1456 and 1457, Southampton became, for a few years, the headquarters of all Italian shipping in England, reaching a peak in 1459–60. The Italian trade helped the town to avoid the general decline in trade that was already underway elsewhere.[9] But it was at a price. During the 1450s, the loss of English control over Gascony accompanied by a decline in the trade with Castile, Portugal and Catalonia, left Southampton's trade increasingly under the control of the Italians. But while there were gains from such developments, the export statistics for the port reveal the enormous annual fluctuations that occurred as a result of Italian demands. Moreover, the second half of the century was to see a gradual decline in Italian activity within the port. Nevertheless, the Venetian galleys still dominated some sectors of trade. In 1505–6, a year of high exports through Southampton, the alien trade (most carried in three Venetian ships), constituted almost ten times that of the denizen trade. One such ship carried the equivalent of more than the whole of the denizen trade in cloth.[10]

The distinctive Italian trade represented only part of the port's international trade, and much trade came from South West France and from Spain. Gascony, as befitted its English rule, was a major trading partner. Here the main pattern of exchange was English cloth for the wine of Gascony. In addition, woad provided an additional item to exchange for cloth. In Toulouse, English cloth dominated the market in the early fifteenth century, providing a range of good medium quality products that could be exchanged for its woad, an essential dyestuff for much of the cloth industry of Hampshire and Wiltshire and beyond.[11] Most of the Gascon wine trade was handled by the English merchants, whose ships dominated the trade, and who feature in the Southampton port books.[12] In addition, the Genoese and the Castilians picked up goods in the course of their passage to the north. Gascon commerce reached its peak in the 1440s. The French recovery of south-west France in

1450 and the later recovery of Bordeaux in 1453 led to much more restricted and regulated trade, as in 1462, when there was a French ban on the trade followed by English retaliation. Such political interruptions damaged trade, although not irreparably. The Gascon trade recovered during the reign of Edward IV, although the wine trade was now largely in the hands of London merchants and later of Gascon shipping. The Iberian peninsula was another major source of trade. Castile, Andalusia and Portugal provided oil and woad, and soap all for the cloth industry.[13] Wine and fruits and some spices were brought for consumption, with Southampton being one of the main places for the import of wine.[14] Finally, the Basque country was a vital source of high quality iron for its growing use in England, and Southampton was a substantial centre for its import.[15] Some Spanish goods were brought on Genoese ships, others on English or Castilian ships. Castilian ships became more active towards the end of the century and constituted a small but regular element in the harbour, but much was still done by the Italian carracks and galleys. But in 1487–8 the Castilians played no role in the woad imports in Southampton.[16]



Source: D. H. Sacks, The Widening Gate. Bristol and the Atlantic Economy (Berkeley, 1991), 22, based on figures from James, Wine Trade.

Figure 3.1: Non-sweet wine trade to Southampton 1400–1500 (5 year averages to the nearest tuns).

There were also other markets. Initially trade with Normandy had been concentrated through Calais, but there was also trade through Brittany and Normandy. Lancastrian successes in France led to growth of trade, which remained regular but occasional from ports such as Rouen, Barfleur and Caen. There was also such occasional trade from Brittany and more particularly

from the Channel Islands.[17] Southampton also traded with the Low Countries which functioned as the end of the main Channel trade. Some of these boats were not recorded because goods were taken out by lighter to load the galleys and carracks, on their way to or from Bruges or Antwerp.[18] The growing international importance of Antwerp and its direct trade with London also helped to produce a decline in Southampton, as London's outport was replaced by the London-Antwerp trade.

The brokage books are dominated by the goods that were imported through Southampton, so it is perhaps worth emphasising the exports that allowed such imports to be maintained. Cloth was the dominant export, with English cloth traded throughout Europe. Wool continued to be exported, although now largely replaced by the manufactured product, thus allowing England and the port's hinterland to benefit from the value-added of manufacture. Lesser but significant items were provided by tin and lead, with Southampton becoming the metal staple for the country in 1492. In addition hides provided another valuable export.

The Cloth Industry[19]

At its peak in the 1440s and the first two decades of the sixteenth century, Southampton was the most important provincial port for the export of English cloth.[20] After the breakthrough expansion in the fourteenth century, and despite recessions in the first two decades of the fifteenth century and the 1450s and 1460s, cloth exports expanded steadily until the mid-sixteenth century, and hence the prosperity of many southern towns were enhanced.[21] Although an increasing proportion of cloth went through London, Southampton remained of vital importance particularly for the Italian-dominated Mediterranean trade.[22] Already by 1400, Somerset, Salisbury, and towns like Winchester had emerged as major cloth producing centres, and the adjacent counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire and Somerset were together responsible for 44% of the country's cloth production.[23] The early fifteenth century was to see expansion in west Wiltshire and in the kersey producing area of the Thames valley. After the mid-century recession these developments continued in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, with Newbury, Reading, Basingstoke, Alton and Marlborough becoming important growing towns.

The brokage books provide crucial evidence for our understanding of this industry. Sadly it is also a rather onesided view. A full account of the cloth finding its way to Southampton for collection might be expected. But such transactions are only sometimes recorded.[24] The brokage books provide an indication of only some of the places which produced cloth and of some of the different cloths: the straights of Somerset, the bastards of Devizes or the kerseys of Newbury. They do record the goods being sent from the port: goods which were purchased with the sale of cloth. The trading patterns of the

town's inland trade depended to a large part on markets and demands generated by those who worked in the cloth industry, some, such as materials for dyeing the cloth, or for the processing of the wool, which were needed for the industry itself; some to satisfy the consumer demands of those involved in the industry. Cloth production had become part of an international web of commerce. English cloth used mainly English wool and English labour, but wool was processed before spinning with foreign oil, cloth was cleaned before fulling with foreign soap, and cloth dyed with foreign dyestuffs (Maps 17, 28A). It was then exported abroad. Such a generalisation underplays local provision and the flourishing internal market on which much of the industry's prosperity was based, but it reminds of the international context within which the overland trade needs to be placed.

The scale of the port's export of cloth can be readily seen through the customs accounts.[25] Southampton was heavily dependent on the Italians for their exports, only a small part being in the hands of denizens. Although high, the Italian exports fluctuated dramatically from year to year, so that the figures for the port itself also varied widely. In general, exports reached their peak in the 1430s and 1440s to a level they were not to recover until the early sixteenth century, when new peaks were reached in 1508 and 1523. But although the later fifteenth century was a period when exports were lower than before, it was not as disastrous as would appear and above all the trough from 1473–95 would appear to be illusory. Cobb has shown that, during this period, cloth export duties could be paid where they were packed rather than from where they were exported. This particularly affected the Italian trade of Southampton, much of whose cloth was collected and packed in London before being taken to the port.[26] For most years it is impossible to calculate the level of such exports, but something can be done to approximate the scale of this under-assessment thanks to the survival of local port books of Southampton which record the export of cloth whether or not the customs duty had already been paid. These suggest that, in 1477–8, 5,491 cloths were exported, 3,659 more than in the enrolled accounts. Moreover, in the four other years for which he compared local and national accounts, the difference averaged at 4,944 cloths.[27] Most of the underestimate occurred in the figures for the alien cloths and so were subject to the enormous fluctuations that have already been noted. But if we take a cautious approximation of 4,000 cloths, substantially below the average for these four years, the trough in exports between the two years disappears (see also Fig. 3.5).[28] In the second half of the fifteenth century cloth exports were fluctuating and lower than before, but not substantially so. Southampton and Bristol remained competing for the position as the major provincial cloth-exporting port.

The Geography of Southampton's Internal Trade

Distance

Goods coming into the port were distributed in various ways. A substantial portion was reloaded onto other ships for transport around the coast. River transport was of little importance in this area unlike the Thames and the Severn,[29] but the latter rivers were of little concern to Southampton. In the port's immediate hinterland, shipping occurred in the estuarine sections, but the rivers themselves, were interrupted by water mills, and were of little use. This is most clearly seen in the transport of bulk goods such as stone. Building accounts show that bringing stone from Southampton and its neighbouring ports was the responsibility of carters, as was that for millstones.[30]

Most traffic was therefore by road. The basic pattern of major bridges had already been established by the end of the thirteenth century.[31] There were some major new bridge projects and relevant to Southampton's trade was the great bridge complex across the Thames at Abingdon, built in the early fifteenth century. But there were also more minor improvements in small bridges and causeways.[32] The frequency of movement and transport made inns an increasingly prosperous sector of the economy.[33] The brokage books also provide a means of assessing the state of the roads. Taken as a whole the database shows a peak of activity in February and March although individual years show alternative distinct peaks as in November in 1492–3, 1477–8 and June 1447–8. This ability to maximise use of travel during the difficult winter season suggests that the roads served their purpose and were not any sort of hindrance to economic progress. Roads lay at the heart of the important and frequently neglected internal trade. Poor documentation has led to the neglect of such trade in the early modern period, but the brokage books remind us of its importance in the fifteenth century.[34]

The patterns of trade and distance varied from item to item, reflecting both the value and bulk of the product and the availability of alternative sources. Fish were of relatively low value, heavy weight and available from other coastal ports. They thus tended to be subject to relatively limited travel (Maps 13A–15). Thus Hampshire (containing the ports' immediate hinterland) and Wiltshire (containing the great economic market of Salisbury) absorbed 86% of the fish that went inland. Moreover, an important town, like Alton to the north-east of Southampton was a substantial destination for Southampton carts, but was much less important for fish than for other imports. It could receive fish from a nearer coast as at Portsmouth. Coal was much less important and had an even narrower trading area. By contrast woad was of less bulk but high in value and not generally available, most coming through specific ports like Southampton and Bristol. Woad was more readily carried long distances, to London and to Coventry and beyond (Maps 20–21). This issue of distance is also clearly shown on the map of all transactions (Maps 1–3), with gradually less and less activity as the distance increased. The majority of transactions lay within the 50-mile radius, and very few were beyond 150 miles.

The maps also provide a sense of the direction of trade, which tended to head towards the north and west. In part this may have reflected the importance of Salisbury and Coventry. Interestingly, this was not paralleled by the role of London. While there was trade to the east, as to Guildford or Farnham, on the whole goods went straight to London and were then redistributed.

Hierarchy

The scale of activity of Southampton's overland trading partners did not just depend on distance from the port. Beyond the port lay a complex hierarchy of towns at the top of which lay three very different cities: London, Salisbury and Winchester.[35] Below and beyond these lay a variety of other towns: more distant, important and county towns such as Gloucester and Newbury, which served as marketing centres for the small towns around, and small market towns in the neighbouring area, such as Andover, Alton and Basingstoke, which would serve as independent traders. Each element in the trading hierarchy involved additional middlemen and higher prices. When Bishop Mitford bought liquorice in 1406–7, he paid 1d a pound (lb) in London, 1½d in Southampton, but 2d in Devizes, which itself was probably supplied from Salisbury.[36]

	Herring (all)	Wine (all)	Woad
Hampshire	38.7%	25.5	15.8%
Wiltshire	47.3%	24.3	20.4%
Hampshire and Wiltshire	86%	49.8	36.2%

Figure 3.2: The trade of Hampshire and Wiltshire (as a percentage of the database total).

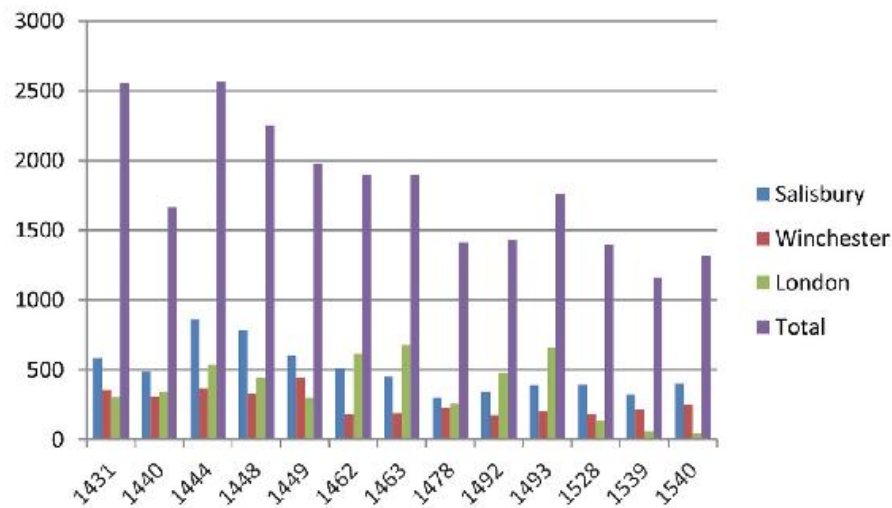


Figure 3.3: Southampton's inland trade: three towns (by carts).

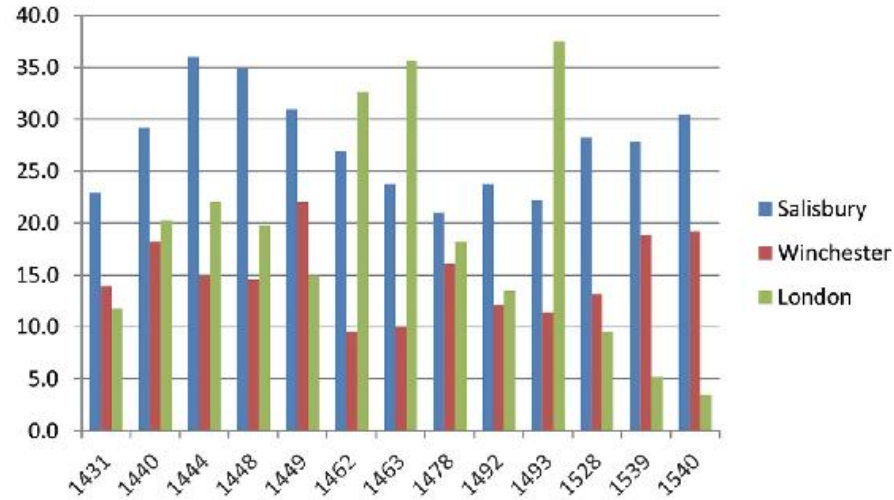


Figure 3.4: Southampton's inland trade: three towns as a percentage of the total.

The importance of the London trade reflected the significance of Southampton's Italian trade, for whose Italian merchants, Coleman observed, 'Southampton was a London wharf which just happened to be 80 miles distant from the others'.[37] In addition London merchants were themselves involved in the trade using Italian shipping. Although there were many more London merchants (about 250) than Italians (about 50) in the database, the two groups were closely involved, with London merchants using Italian shipping, and the Italians dominating the trade in various commodities. 22 Italians were responsible for over half the woad sent to London, 25 for almost half the wine. Some goods like alum, although brought in by the Italians, became the trading responsibility of the English. Here the 20 Italians were responsible for only 13% of the product. Tin came from the south west of England and had nothing to do with the Italians. It was firmly under the control of the Londoners, for whom 45 traders were responsible for 2/3 of the trade.[38] The role of the Londoners themselves in this trade evolved in the course of the period. They had been little involved in the early fifteenth century. In the later fifteenth century they became more prominent, taking over Southampton's role as an outport of London for the Italian trade, which avoided the long journey round the coast. The fish trade is a useful reminder of the factors that benefitted Southampton's trade with London. The fish trade mattered little both because discouraged by the long distance and relatively high bulk/lower value of the product and because London had its own wharves which were much nearer to the rich east coast fishing fields. By contrast, Italian ships

brought goods that were not generally available.

Although less significant as an inland trading centre for Southampton in the 1440s, London became the most important one in the later fifteenth century, in four out of the five full years on the database. The scale of trade in particular items varied from year to year, reflecting both the financial domination of the capital and of short term influences on the usage of Southampton rather than other ports. Such variations can be seen by comparing particular years with the total number of transactions for a particular product during the twelve years of the database. Thus 1461–2 was responsible for 67.4% of the London-bound oil on the database and 46.6% of the soap. 1491–2 saw 56% of the currants, 61.3% of the pepper, 78.9% of the ginger and 38.1% of the cotton, and 1492–3 50.9% of the wine go to London. In part this was the work of the London merchants who, temporarily dominated the wine trade especially in 1492–3, and in part the result of the Italians who subsequently took over much of the wine trade and who remained dominant in the demand for cloth. In the sixteenth century the Southampton–London trade went into severe decline as London merchants looked increasingly to the London–Antwerp route. Foreign shipping now went increasingly direct to London or to the great international mart at Antwerp. The trade brought by the merchants of London and Italy had brought great prosperity to Southampton, but it had also left it vulnerable to their withdrawal to ports elsewhere.

Salisbury was the destination for most carts, except in the second half of the fifteenth century, and Southampton was in many ways its outport. For a large hinterland, which stretched beyond Wiltshire to Bristol, Somerset, Dorset and parts of Hampshire, Salisbury was the main market where goods were sent for sale and wider distribution. Traders from Wiltshire and Somerset who had sold their cloth in Southampton brought back wine, woad and fish and sold them in the city's markets rather than take it back to their own towns. With one exception (1430–1), the city's imports were always greater, often substantially so, than Winchester, and its imports were greater than London except in the period 1463–1494.[39]

Winchester was the nearest and lesser of the three, with long historic links, and several major institutions. Despite long standing decline, it still remained a major town, but one which showed interesting comparisons with Salisbury. Although it was the chief trading centre in Hampshire for overland trade with the port, and in part served as a trading centre for the smaller towns beyond, it had much less of a dominant role and a smaller hinterland than Salisbury. Its secondary role was reflected both in the number of carts going from Southampton, and in in the absence of Salisbury merchants trading to Winchester from Southampton itself. Instead, merchants took their goods to Salisbury itself, from whence they might trade with Winchester, as with wax sent by its merchants to Winchester College. Together the market towns of Hampshire played a much more active and independent role in terms of direct trade with Southampton than did those of Wiltshire where trade was very

much dominated by Salisbury.[40] In the sixteenth century, Salisbury regained its dominance over the inland trade from Southampton, and its pre-eminent position in the economy of central southern England.

Although Southampton was unusual in the prominence of outsiders in its trade, whether Londoners or Italians, its merchants had a significant role to play in its trade. We can see something of the town's merchants in the early books. Robert Aylward figures prominently from 1430–1478. He was active in 1435–6 importing wine as well as woad, madder and alum, as well as cider, wheat and barley, pepper and wax. He traded inland principally to Salisbury and the west in wine, soap and dyestuffs, and possessed two of the largest ships in the town in 1450. He was four times mayor as well as holding other posts.[41] Walter Fetplace, five times mayor, was active in importing in 1435–6 particularly woad and also some flour, alum and wine.[42] His inland trade concentrated on Salisbury, but ranged more widely to Shaftesbury, Warminster, Wimborne, Romsey, Hungerford, Henley on Thames, Reading, Oxford, Abingdon and Guildford. His attention concentrated on wine, dyestuffs and other goods for the cloth industry as well as a miscellany of other goods. Peter James, also five times mayor, imported wine, with some woad, madder and cards for carding the wool in 1439–40.[43] Southampton merchants remained important at the end of our period. Like the port's trade, they seem to have changed and they seem to have become preoccupied with fish and wine, as were Thomas Beckyngham, William Grete, Robert Ronanger and William Jordyn.[44] Their more limited role reflected the contraction of the port itself.

As Maps 2 and 3, suggest, most of the overland trade was within the 50 mile radius of the port, but some went beyond.[45] Trading patterns were not constant and hinterlands changed. These could be long term, such as the loss of any more distant trading centres in the sixteenth centuries. They could also be short term. Bristol itself was a great port for the import of wine, yet in 1463 Bristol and its hinterland were importing wine from Southampton. There were more distant centres, above all Coventry and a range of principally county towns, such as Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Worcester and Northampton, which traded in a more limited range of goods. In many ways what is surprising was the distance over which trade took place. This is illustrated not just by the men of Kendal who traded from the far north-west to the south coast.[46] More interesting perhaps is the trade with those places in the hinterland of Bristol, a competitor provincial port and rival in the woad and wine trades. Why did such towns trade with Southampton rather than the nearer Bristol? In part this may have resulted from sweet Mediterranean wines being lumped together with the Gascon wines as 'wine' and in part to clothiers who exported cloth bringing back the woad that they needed. But it is noticeable that the patterns varied between the 1440s and the early 1460s.

The geography of trade was also influenced by the rise and fall of a variety of towns: Coventry declined and disappeared from the Southampton trade, but

Newbury and Basingstoke rose in the course of this century.[47] But such changes did not take place in a vacuum. Coventry was both seeing recession and a growing dependence on London, and thus ceased to be a significant player in the Southampton trade. The distribution of journeys could also be affected by non-economic factors. A lord's purchases or movement of goods might lead to an artificial inflation of a town's apparent importance. This can be seen in the way in which the building activities were reflected in the brokage books. A good example of this can be seen in the apparent importance of Mottisfont in 1538–40. In reality this was not about any economic actvity, but the product of the building works and purchases of William Lord Sandys, who was in the process of converting the Augustinian priory into his new residence. Another probable example of building is provided by the bishop of Winchester's need for Spanish iron.[48] Yet another example is provided by the small Cotswold town of Wotton under Edge which at first sight seems to have traded actively with Southampton: 15 journeys were recorded in 1444, 7 in 1440. But here was one of the home bases of John Lord Talbot, from 1442 earl of Shrewsbury. Although active in the war in France, at various times he sent goods to Wotton, being specifically responsible for all the entries there, for miscellaneous goods or for things for him.

Change in Patterns of Trade 1430–1540

Quantities and Chronology: Changing Fortunes

One great advantage of the database covering a range of brokage books, rather than just a single one, is that it allows both generalisations about what was happening over a century or more, and to consider change over time. What changes took place and why? Nevertheless, before doing so a word of caution should be noted. There was considerable scope for annual fluctuations. Some indices may show different trends and for different reasons. Although large, the 12 years of the database include 1431, which is not comprehensive, and 1494, which is not complete. These years may be supplemented with figures from 1444 and 1449, and Coleman's figures for wine and woad. The addition of other years might modify this picture of these short term changes.

Some of the main trends are shown in Figures 3.3–3.4. The 1440s were a period of maximum activity in Southampton's trade. The early 1460s saw trade still flourishing, but with a sharp drop in alum. The scale of activity dropped in 1478 and in 1492–4, much due to the dramatic fall in woad and the continued low level of alum. Wine and oil reached a peak in 1462, but thereafter dropped to a much lower level. The last quarter of the fifteenth century was thus a period of recession for Southampton, while elsewhere, in the aftermath of the recoinage of 1471 and of the revival of the French trade after the Treaty of Picquigny (1475), it was to be one of recovery. The

sixteenth century figures, which unfortunately do not coincide with the periods of maximum cloth exports, saw the lowest levels of activity in the database. Southampton was acquiring a new, but more limited trading role as a more typical and ordinary south coast port.

	1431	1440	1444	1448	1449	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1528	1539	1540
Total	130	1658	2367	2251	1996	1899	1963	1423.5	1436.5	1753.5	1373	1166.5	1309.5
Herring	13	200		470		156	150	131	89	132	262	350	264
Wine	21	376		643		480	678	575	472	1514	303	323	295
Woad	34	710		550		648	579	218	85	65	17	131	153
Alum	2	99		337		110	60	83.5	17.5	33.5	11	2	0
Oil	2	107		138		194	17	91	69	165	29	7	18
Cloth exports	6576	12098	7212	14772	6610	3845	2593	1546	1679	4775	5480	3279	2291
Adjusted figures for cloth exports								5491	c5679	c8775			

Sources: E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade 1275–1547* (Oxford 1963); H. S. Cobb, 'Cloth Exports from London and Southampton in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: A Revision', *EcHR* 2nd ser 31 (1978), 607. For the adjusted figures, see below Ch. 15. The figures for 1444 and 1449 are re-calculated from Coleman Map 2 and Harwood, 'Trade of Southampton', 115. That for 1444 excludes entries with unknown destinations and is therefore a slight underestimate.

Figure 3.5: The chronology of trade (in carts).

The Influences

Why then was the latter fifteenth century a period of difficulty? Nationally, the mid fifteenth century was a period of general economic recession, with particularly acute problems in trade.[49] Between 1438–48 and 1448–71, there were contractions of almost 40% in cloth, more than 40% in the import of wine and around 40% in *ad valorem* customs duties covering a wide range of import and exports.[50] Southampton's trade seems to have survived this reasonably well, thanks to the Italian trade. National recovery came in the 1470s, although Southampton remained untypical.

Southampton's trade had survived largely due to the Italian involvement. In the 1440s this had been dominated by the Genoese. Under Henry VI an average of 10–11 of their great carracks laden with a variety of goods, particularly with alum and woad docked each year. There followed a dramatic fall. From 1462 to 1480, there were never more than one or two of them, although this does not seem to have had an immediate impact, as in the 1462–3 figures. The Ottoman advance in the eastern Mediterranean interrupted their trade and above all the capture of Foglia in 1455 destroyed the Genoese monopoly of the alum trade. Although a new source of alum was found in the Tolfa mines in the Papal States, the Florentines who acquired the monopoly tended to use London rather than Southampton and ceased to visit the latter port in 1478.[51] While the Venetians used Southampton regularly in the aftermath of the anti-alien riots of the 1450s, they too tended to prefer London. Nevertheless, they continued to trade through Southampton and on a large scale until the 1530s. Italian commerce had been a vital feature of

Southampton's prosperity, but it also left the port very vulnerable to withdrawal of this trade. The Genoese trade had enabled the port to ride out the storm of the 1450s, but it remained lower thereafter. The revenues from the Italians in local customs and other port dues fell dramatically: from £323 in 1459–60 to £118 in 1469–70 and £159 in 1480–1, as did the number of Italian ships, while the Italian colony in the town practically disappeared.[52] For a time the impact of this contraction was concealed by the readiness of the Londoners to fill the gap. They had shown 'little interest' in the port in the early fifteenth century, but this subsequently changed.[53] The Gascon wine trade recovered under Edward IV, now largely in the hands of London merchants.[54] At the end of the fifteenth century, the English were opening up the Mediterranean to their shipping. This may have helped the nation, yet Southampton failed to make the most of the new opportunities. The expansion of trade with Spain and the early voyages into the Mediterranean, were largely in the hands of London merchants.[55] The Londoners gradually withdrew from the port as they became increasingly preoccupied with the London to Antwerp trade. Southampton lost its role as London's outport and hence its place in international trade. By the mid sixteenth century therefore, Southampton had become a minor south coast port, no longer a challenger to Bristol. These shifting patterns are also seen in the fortunes of its woad trade. This was dominant in Southampton from 1440 to 1463 during the period of Genoese domination, but declined thereafter and despite a partial recovery in the sixteenth century never resumed its former importance (Fig. 3.5). Southampton also ceased to be a significant importer for London, thus the same four years (1440–63) were responsible for 91.9% of all the woad that went to London in the database (by carts). By contrast Bristol's trade was based on denizen traders and on Gascony, for it was a much more important importer of Bordeaux wine than was Southampton. Bristol's woad trade shared in the revival of trade at the end of the fifteenth century, as is made clear by contemporary Bristol perceptions and the frequency of woad bequests in the wills of those from its immediate hinterland.[56]

War and international relations also affect trade. In the long run countries could recover from the conflict between France and England or Burgundy and England, but such factors did have a short-term impact. In 1450–3 resumption of the Anglo- French war and France's recovery of Normandy and Gascony had a severe impact on trade. The concurrent crises with the Hanseatic traders and of the Burgundian cloth trade had a less specific impact on Southampton than on cloth producers in general.[57] Later, in 1462, Anglo-French relations reached a low point as the French supported the Lancastrians against Edward IV. The Gascon trade became part of a French blockade and subsequent English retaliation.[58] The warfare in Northumberland seems to offer an explanation for the disruption of the traditional east coast trade routes and short term alterations in the trading patterns for lead.

Short term influences could also be more profound. One of the interesting

features of the brokage books is of the changing patterns of trade between the 1440s and the early 1460s. This can be seen in the role of Salisbury, whose market extended to the small towns of western Wiltshire and eastern Somerset. In the 1440s cloth was brought to Salisbury, or if to Southampton, luxuries, dyestuff, wine were conveyed to Salisbury and then sold into the market there. In the 1460s, such traders were much more likely to take the goods to their own home town for sale. For woad, the 1460s saw a greater readiness for merchants to trade their woad direct from the port to the lesser towns, whether the small textile towns such as Bradford or the substantial county towns beyond Coventry, such as Torksey.[59] One explanation may be that the recession and shortage of capital had led to changing patterns of borrowing and a shrinkage in credit. How far had the declining confidence in the security of loans, seen in the reduced number of staple certificates, led to a diminution of borrowing,[60] and a desire for transactions to be carried out through an exchange of goods rather than of currency or debts?

As with so much else, the brokage books raise questions rather than necessarily provide solutions. But they provide a unique opportunity to examine unfamiliar parts of the economy. They show us much about patterns of trade and the relationship between towns and between regions, and how these patterns could vary within a relatively short time span.

Notes

1 *The Local Port Book of Southampton, 1439–40*, ed. H. S. Cobb, SRSer 5 (1961), e.g. pp. 74–85 for the 2 galleys which arrived on 4 April and left on 26 April.
2 A. A. Ruddock, 'Alien Hosting in Southampton in the fifteenth century', *EcHR* 16 (1946), 34.
3 Most easily seen in the statistics in M. Kowaleski, 'Port Towns, England and Wales 1300–1540', in *CUHB*, 477 (by value), 479 (in cloth), 481 (4th in wine), but with aliens responsible for 67.3% of the port's trade 1478–82 (482).
4 For fuller discussion see below, Ch. 17.
5 The following paragraphs are based on the printed port books: *The Port Books of Southampton, 1427–1430*, ed. P. Studer, SRSoc15 (1913); *The Local Port Book of Southampton, 1435–6*, ed. B. Foster, SRSer 7 (1963); Cobb, *Port Book 1439–40; The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the Reign of Edward IV*, ed. D. B. Quinn and A. A. Ruddock, SRSoc. 37, 38 (1937–8); *The Port Book of Southampton, 1509–10*, ed. T. B. James, SRSer 32, 33 (1990), with additional references as noted.
6 Studer, *Port Books 1427–30*, xviii–xxi.
7 Coleman, 120.
8 S. Rose, 'The Port of Southampton in the Fifteenth Century: Shipping and Ship masters', *PHFC* 61 (2006), 178–9.
9 Ruddock, 66–8.
10 H. S. Cobb, 'Cloth Exports from London and Southampton in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: A Revision', *EcHR* 2nd ser. 31 (1978), 609.
11 P. Wolffe, 'English Cloth in Toulouse (1380–1450)', *EcHR* 2nd ser 2 (1950), 290–4.
12 Y. Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les Rois d'Angleterre*, (Bordeaux, 1965), 428–430: Studer, *Port Book, 1427–30* xxiii; Cobb, *Port Book, 1439–40, passim*.
13 Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, 111.

14 *Ibid*. 124, 127–8, 132, 135, 59.
15 *Ibid*. 116–7.
16 *Ibid*. 51, 62, 107–8.
17 Studer, *Port Book 1427–30*, xxxiii.
18 Below, Ch. 6; The Borromei ledger also testifies to contacts between this bank in the Low Countries and Southampton in 1438. J. L. Bolton and F. G. Bruscoli, 'When did Antwerp replace Bruges as the Commercial and Financial Centre of North-Western Europe? The Evidence of the Borromei Ledger for 1438', *EcHR* 2nd ser. 61, (2008), 367, 369, 374, 375.
19 See Ch. 15 and Maps 17–28A.
20 E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade 1275–1547* (Oxford, 1963), 142–55.
21 *Ibid*. 138–9.
22 Hare, *Prospering Society*; E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Woollen Industry before 1550', in *VCH Wilts*, 4, 115–47; Yates, *Western Berkshire*; J. N. Hare, 'Growth and Recession in the Fifteenth-Century Economy: the Wiltshire Textile Industry and the Country', *EcHR* 2nd ser. 52, 1 (1999), 1–26; 'Regional Prosperity in Fifteenth-Century England: Some Evidence from Wessex', in, *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2001), 114–5.
23 H. L. Gray, 'The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century', *EHR* 39 (1924), 34; The area subsequently lost out in relative terms see figures in H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries* (Oxford 1920).
24 See below Ch. 15 and Map 17.
25 Carus-Wilson and Coleman, 148–9.
26 Cobb, 'Cloth Exports', 601–9.
27 *Ibid*. 607.
28 Carus-Wilson and Coleman.
29 T. S. Willan, *The Inland Trade* (Manchester, 1976), 5–9.
30 See Ch. 16, The canal from Southampton to Alresford is a 17th-century myth, see E. Roberts, 'Alresford Pond, a Medieval Canal Reservoir: A Tradition Reassessed', *PCFC* 41 (1984), 127–37.
31 D. Harrison, *The Bridges of Medieval England* (Oxford, 2004).
32 For examples from different area, see Hare, *Prospering Society*, 173; A. Betterton and D. Dymond, *Lavenham: Industrial Town* (Lavenham, 1989), 16, 113–5.
33 J. Hare, 'Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England, 1350–1600', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), 477–97.
34 For consideration of historian's neglect of roads and internal trade in the early modern period, see J. A. Chartres, *Internal Trade in England, 1500–1700* (Basingstoke 1977).
35 See separate chapters on London (7), Salisbury (6) and Winchester (8).
36 C. Dyer, 'The Consumer and the Market', *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London, 1994), 261.
37 Coleman, 12.
38 See below Ch. 7.
39 See Figs 3.3, 3.4.
40 On these 3 cities see the separate chapters (6–8).
41 Platt, *Southampton*, 230; Studer, *Port Book 1427–30*; Rose, 'Port of Southampton', 180; Cobb, *Port Book, 1439–40*. In 1430–1, he traded exclusively with Salisbury, in 1439–40 this extended to Leicester, Gloucester, Reading and London as well as to Basingstoke and Andover. His trading had fallen to two transactions in1461–2; below Chapter 11.
42 Platt, *Southampton;* Cobb, *Port Book, 1439–40*; B Carpenter Turner, 'The Brokage Books of Southampton, A Hampshire Merchant and Some Aspects of Medieval Transport', *PHFC* 16 (1945), 173–7. The Walter Fetplace most of whose trade in 1462–3 consisted of woad to London may have been a relation; below Chapter 11.

43 Platt, *Southampton*; Cobb, *Port Book, 1439–40*.
44 See below Chs. 12, 14.
45 See below Ch. 10.
46 See below Ch. 10.
47 See below Ch. 10.
48 Below Ch. 16.
49 J. Hatcher, 'The Great Slump of the Mid-Fifteenth Century', in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England*, ed. R. Britnell and J. Hatcher (Cambridge, 1996), 237–72.
50 Hatcher, 'Great Slump', 241–2.
51 Ruddock, 219.
52 *Ibid*. 215; Rose, 'Port of Southampton', 176.
53 Ruddock, 'London Capitalists and the Decline of Southampton in the Early Tudor Period', *EcHR* 2nd ser. 2 (1949), 139.
54 *Ibid*. 146.
55 *Ibid*. 147.
56 For comparison between Bristol and Southampton, see Carus-Wilson and Coleman, 142–3 and 148–9; and Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, tables I–III and 21–8; Kowaleski, Port Towns 490; and on woad Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade, Medieval Merchant Venturers*, 36–*7; Somerset Medieval Wills 1383–1500*, ed. F. W. Weaver, Somerset Record Society 16, 19 (1901–3).
57 J. N. Hare, 'The Wiltshire Rising of 1450: Political and Economic Discontent in Mid-Fifteenth Century England', *Southern History* 4 (1982), 18.
58 James, *Wine Trade*, 45.
59 See below, Chapter 15.
60 P. Nightingale, 'England and the Mid European Depression of the Mid Fifteenth Century', *Journal of European Economic History* 26 (1997), 637–40; R. Goddard, *Commercial Contraction and Urban Decline in Fifteenth-Century Coventry*, Dugdale Society Occasional Paper 46 (2006), 24.

Chapter 4

THE TRADING CALENDAR

Michael Hicks

The brokage books reveal Southampton's trade over a whole century, which most chapters of this book analyse and explain. No less interesting is what happens during each year, which this chapter examines. There was a calendar to the trading year, much of which applied every year, and a transport system that made such trade possible, which this chapter examines. The base year is 1447–8, but other years are used for comparison, in particular 1527–8. The brokage books do not always cover the whole year, but the database has recorded activity under weeks, so that incomplete books can be compared in surveys over time.

The Trading Calendars

The modern industrial economy runs evenly like a conveyor belt across the whole year. Seasonal fluctuations are smoothed by worldwide supplies. The economy anytime before industrialisation was different. It was far more seasonal, at the mercy of the climate, the weather, and especially the harvest, which fluctuated from year to year and within each year. Many more carts went through the Bargate in winter than in high summer. This is clear for 1447–8. Figure 4.1 shows that it applied to all other years too. The reasons are quite complex. This master calendar is the sum of a whole series of other calendars. The harvest year, implied rather than visible, has been mentioned. Additionally there were separate calendars for trade in wine, in spices and Mediterranean products imported by the Italians, in fish, and outgoing in wool and woollen cloth, all of which are revealed in the chapters that follow. Trade in lime – from Winchester to Southampton – peaked in June. No doubt there were others too, such as iron, most of which came from northern Spain, but some perhaps from Sussex and the Forest of Dean, wax from Iberia and the Baltic, or tin from Cornwall, which came in overland in the 1440s and went out in larger quantities by 1477.

Two factors that might be expected to make a difference but did not were the state of the roads and the climate. It was cheaper to convey bulk products by water than by river – hence coastal shipping was to be preferred over a certain distance to carting. Water transport inland depended on navigable watercourses The Hampshire River Test and River Itchen above St Denys (now a suburb of Southampton) were too shallow and, at times, in flood. Although sometimes muddy, the main roads were never closed, nor especially costly. 'Transport costs in fourteenth-century England were remarkably low', finds Masschaele.[1] In the fourteenth century it cost 14d per cart of wheat per day or 0.4% increase in price per day, meaning that the price doubled over 250 miles. Packhorses cost ten times as much. But Masschaele's calculations relate to wheat. The percentage increase in cost of more valuable commodities, not just spices but alum, woad, and dyestuffs, was much less and more economic. It is revealing nevertheless that fish – a heavy low value product – rarely travelled more than 50 miles and that high value oil and spices were carried further than heavy iron. There were distances beyond which fish and wine were not carted.[2] Of two raw materials of the cloth industry distributed the same distances, alum was supplied direct to fewer destinations than woad, not because of differences in weight, but probably because Italians kept control of it (Maps 20, 24).

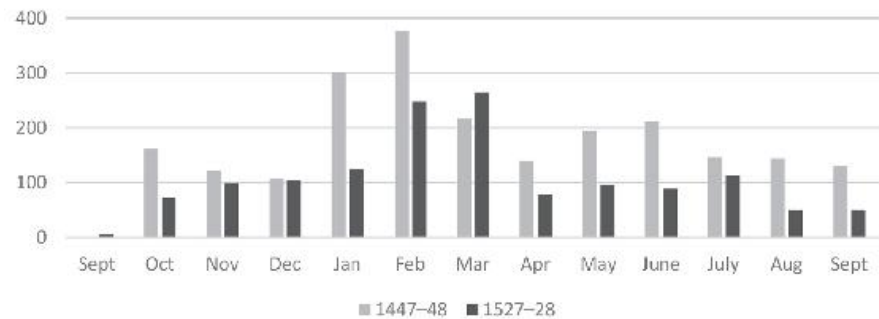


Figure 4.1: Month by month comparison of departures of carts from Southampton in 1447–8 and 1527–8.

The brokage books record many more carts leaving Southampton through the Bargate than arriving there, as Figure 4.2 shows.

Figure 4.3 demonstrates that the calendar of inward traffic was very similar to outward journeys.

Consignments in 1447–8 totalled 315 out of 2,078 (13.4%). It is possible of course that there was a genuine imbalance – that Southampton distributed much more merchandise, principally Italian spices and French wines, than it consumed or exported itself, and that many carts reaching Southampton arrived empty and thus unrecorded or at least uncharged.[3] However one-way traffic was not good business. Such a hypothesis implies that many return

journeys (inward journeys) were unfunded and that therefore carters needed to recover the whole cost of their travel, as far as Coventry or Kendal in extreme cases, and their return empty. Whilst unladen journeys may have been inescapable occasionally, such a regular practice seems improbable. Whilst no customs or brokage had to be collected on loaded carts reaching the Bargate from elsewhere, pontage was due on them all regardless and should therefore have been recorded in every case. A possible explanation for this imbalance is suggested below.

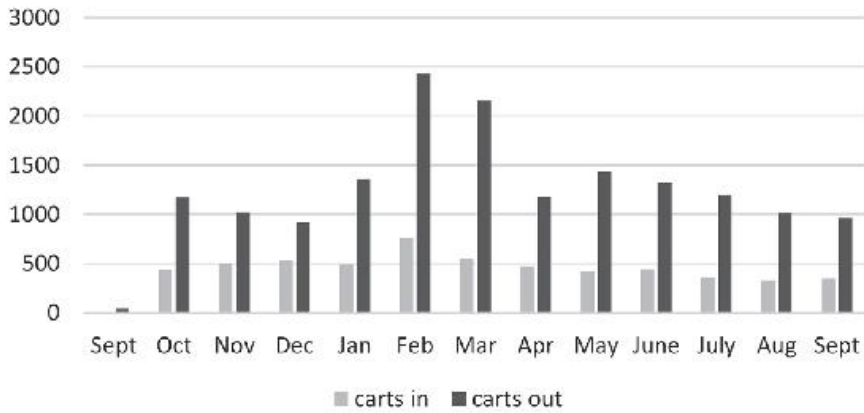


Figure 4.2: Total carts in and out of Southampton 1439–1539 (per month).

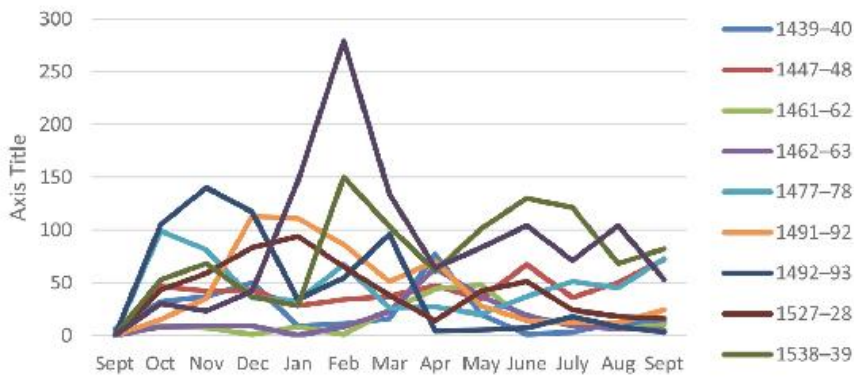


Figure 4.3: Graph of carts leaving Southampton1439–1539 (per month).

The Calendars for Different Commodities

It has long been known that the brokage books record far more trade in the autumn and winter than in the spring and summer. This parallels activity in the economy as a whole, the peak period of activity being after the harvest in late summer/early autumn, when many fairs were held, and the spring, when new-born livestock come on the market.[4] Figure 4.4, which charts carts month

by month across all years, demonstrates just how consistent was the calendar across a whole century.

Actually neither grain nor beasts feature much in the brokage books, for reasons discussed below, but Southampton like everywhere else required the basic staples of corn (predominantly wheat) for bread and malt/barley for drink for its inhabitants. Slavin reckons the staple diet of late medieval people was a 2lb loaf and 3 pints of ale a day, total three quarters (qtr) of grain per head per year. Norwich, with a population of 25,000, required 75,000 quarters of grain a year,[5] on which basis Southampton, with up to 2,000 inhabitants, needed per annum 3,240 qtr corn and 2,840 qtr malt, to feed them. Allowing 5 qtr per cart for corn and 3 qtr for malt, this amounts to over 600 cartloads of grain and over 900 of malt. The broker recorded only 1,081 qtr malt (360 carts) and almost no corn. There are indications that much came from close at hand, for example from Milbrook (now Southampton's West Quay), which conforms to experience elsewhere.[6] Some certainly came from Ringwood and Andover.[7] In 1439–40 246 qtr of grain was imported into Southampton by sea–from Kent, Normandy, Guernsey and other locations – but this is outweighed by 411½ qtr carried out through the Bargate in 1447–8, a deficit of 165½ qtr. Southampton consumed peas, beans, fruit and vegetables, hay and other fodder that also pass unrecorded. How was this deficit met and how was Southampton's own consumption satisfied? In 1447–8 the brokage books record only 5 qtr incoming (8.29r2), so the balance must have entered via the Bargate unrecorded, through other gates, or downriver and unloaded at the wharves. Grain carts entering Southampton were not liable for local custom or brokage,[8] but were charged pontage of 1d per cart, which was avoided if brought through other gates, where no pontage was levied. This perhaps was the principal route: there was much more financial incentive for the town to restrict egress from the town via the Bargate than to control access. Any local custom due may have been charged at the port rather than the gates: however this hypothesis is unproven. Much may have come by water, down the rivers Itchen and Test or along the coast, some indeed from Southampton's own open fields. Whatever proportion came by road required carts to convey it – packhorses were unsuitable for such a bulk commodity – and may alone have generated the surplus of carts available for return journeys out of the Bargate.

Moreover in 1447–8, exceptionally, Southampton was a significant exporter of grain through the Bargate in 125 carts. A trivial quantity, 7½ qtr, was taken out in November and January (8.23r7, 8.29r2), but a further 405½ qtr was carried thereafter, the peak months being May (39 carts: 180 qtr), June (44: 159), and a late flourish in August (11: 58). August consignments were principally to Winchester (9:31), which received 13 deliveries of 52½ qtr, but most of the rest went to Romsey (8 carts: 38 qtr), Salisbury (48: 177½), and Wilton (17: 58), John Yonge of Salisbury and John Seward of Wilton being the most prominent cornmongers. It appears that enough corn was produced locally to support these urban populations (and perhaps their clothworking

hinterlands), but an infusion of grain via Southampton – much perhaps foreign – was required this year in the late spring and summer ahead of the new harvest. It is also apparent that large quantities were stored in Southampton for considerable periods. One of Southampton's most under-appreciated assets was the massive capacity of its stone undercrofts, many of which survive today (Fig. 5.4).

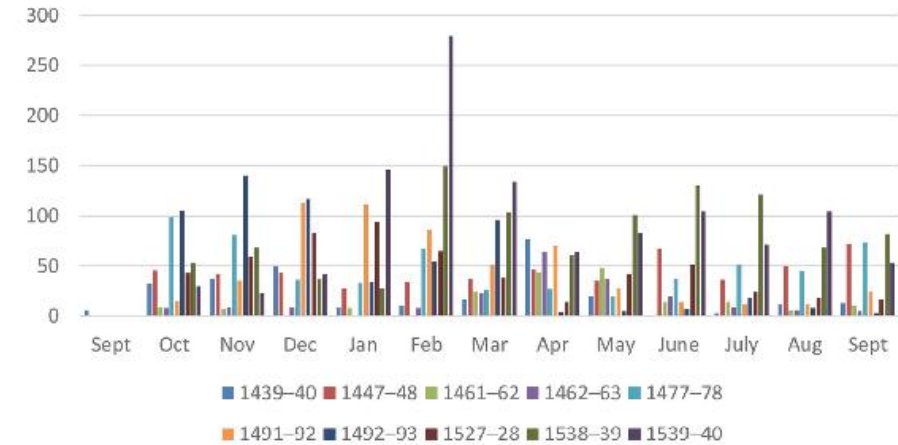


Figure 4.4: Bar chart of carts leaving Southampton 1439–1539 (per month).

The harvest shaped not just dealing in the staple foodstuff, but also the staple drink. Obviously milk, fruit juice and cider were drunk, but seldom occur in the brokage books. In 1477–78 there are entries for 'fruit josse' amounting to 33 sorte. Cider was taken into Southampton. In 1462–3, it amounted to 2 tun and 2 indefinite quantities, 1 tun was for John Payn, mayor; a further 2.5 tun was taken out of Southampton in various years, 1430–31, 1447–48 and 1439–40, when 1 pipe went to Hyde Abbey. The staple drink was ale, made from malt which was produced from barley, which was harvested at the same time as wheat. Large quantities of barley malted outside Southampton was brought in and brewed by Southampton brewers. There were 103 consignments of at least 1,081 quarters of malt, perhaps 360 cartloads. The peak season was January (199½ qtr) and February (299½ qtr). Very few outward return journeys are recorded. Any redistribution of malt from Southampton must have been by water, since only two consignments outwards by road are recorded. Southampton people consumed at least some of the Gascon wine discussed below.

The spring peak in activity does not feature at all in the brokage books, since pigs, sheep, and cattle entered on the hoof. One delivery of bullocks only is recorded in the 1447–8 brokage book (8.82v7). Animals arrived before slaughtering, on the hoof, not in carts or on packhorses, not charged, perhaps via other gates, or simply unrecorded: the most probable explanation. The broker let stalls at the flesh market near the Greyfriars, many of them to

butchers: 70% in 1443–4.[9] Six in 1447–8 were surnamed Bocher: John of Millbrook and Hythe, Roger, Nicholas, Thomas, and William of Romsey. Such men scarcely occur as carters or owners in the brokage books.

Wool and cloth had their own calendars as shown in Figure 4.6.

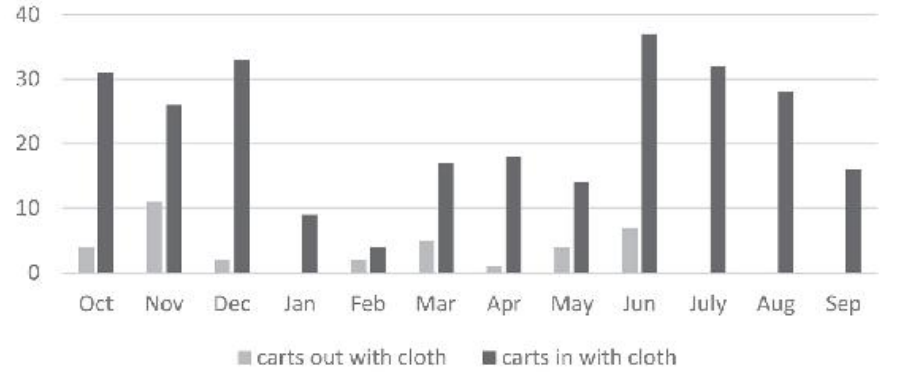


Figure 4.5: Number of carts entering and leaving Southampton with Cloth in 1447–8 (per month).

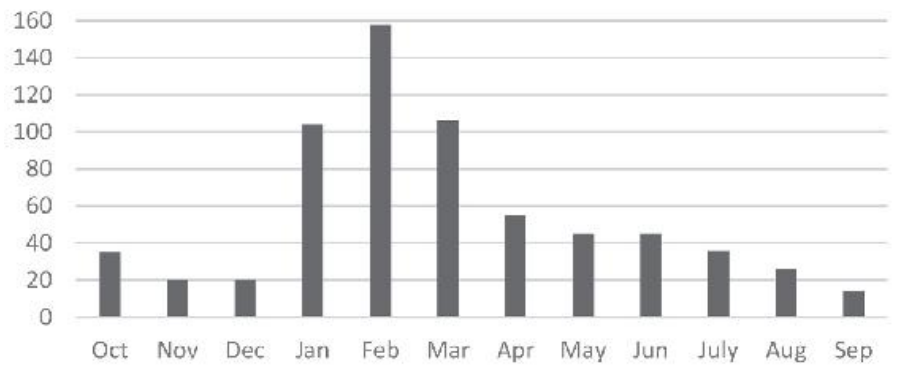


Figure 4.6: Distribution of wine from Southampton in 1447–8 (in carts per month).

Lambs were born early in pre-industrial England. It was such young animals that dominated the springtime fairs, yet they travelled on the hoof, were slaughtered in the town, and thus escaped the tolls levied by the broker. Many lambs died: a part load of lambskins were brought to Southampton on 24 January 1448, 540 by Nicholas Gyfford on 10 February, and another 300 from Abingdon on 31 May (8.28v6, 8.39r2, 8.72v4). Sheep were sheared in early summer:[10] arrivals of wool in Southampton peaked unsurprisingly in August and September, but wool was not perishable and dribbled in at other times. Most wool within Southampton's Wessex hinterland was made up into cloth for domestic use (unrecorded) or for export. The carding, spinning, weaving, fulling, shearing and dyeing, essential processes to convert raw wool

into semi-finished cloth for export, took time, but since cloth was non-perishable, it was carted in most months. The peak of arrivals was June to December, the late summer especially witnessing wool and cloth as the return cargoes for all kinds of mordants and dyes for the cloth industry.

French wine mainly from the Bordeaux region was one of Southampton's major imports, customs being paid on 1,000 tuns (252,000 gallons) in 1448–9, and smaller quantities of sweet Mediterannean wine (rumney and malmsey) were also imported. Grapes, the basic ingredient, were harvested in the late summer and fermented into wine.

The new vintage (must) was shipped on the Gascon wine fleet to Southampton in October and November and was then available for distribution through the Bargate. Wine that was fermented longer (the reek) arrived in March, April and May, the peak of Southampton's wine imports, and was then distributed. It was the reek that mattered most in 1447–8. Much undoubtedly was transhipped along the coast, some upstream by the rivers, but an impressive quantity travelled by road. 'The overland transport was dictated by the arrival of wine ships in port', states Duxbury.[11] Medieval wine did not keep, so Southampton's cellars were cleared of old wine in June and July to make space for the new vintage. Supply was not the only determinant of overland trade. Demand was greater at Christmas and Easter. Moreover the trade in wine fluctuated wildly in line with international relations. Wine originated principally from the Bordeaux region, until 1451 part of English Gascony, and from Spain, but was affected by warfare – the truce of Tours of 1444 encouraged trade[12] – and piracy in the Channel. Normal trade recovered after the loss of Gascony, but hostilities resumed on various occasions.[13]

The market for fish was determined by the weekly fast day (Friday) and the forty meatless days of Lent, religious observances required by the Catholic church. That no meat was permitted on these days generated an enormous demand for fish. Of course there were several sources for this. The rivers Itchen and Test were famous freshwater fisheries, but the fisheries were controlled by the principal landholders along the river banks, such as the bishop of Winchester, and in any case cannot have satisfied much of the populace's demand. Similarly fish from fishponds were consumed primarily in great households. It was wealthy customers, like Hyde Abbey, that consumed such luxuries as sturgeon (2), salmon (28) and also oysters (18), which however cost only 1.5d per bushel in 1382.[14] Even the less well-heeled consumed hake (4), sardines (1). sprats (10) and mackerel (1) as relief from stockfish (4), the undifferentiated fish (50), and herring (321). Most were not eaten fresh, but dried, cured or especially salted and packed in barrels, and could therefore be stored for considerable periods prior to consumption.

Nevertheless Figure 4.7 demonstrates that salt-water fish were transported throughout the year for consumption on fast days and that the peak supply was in Lent. Lent, of course, moved according to the Christian calendar, consumption of fish moving as well: between 6 February and 21 March 1448,

almost the earliest date possible, it started on 3 March and ended on 14 April in 1446. That distribution peaked in January and February indicates that most of these fish were salted. Southampton's hinterland was served principally by sea fisheries and coastal shipping, some as close as Yarmouth on the Isle of Wight, but more from the North Sea. Salt arrived throughout the year, the peak being September to November, before the fish.

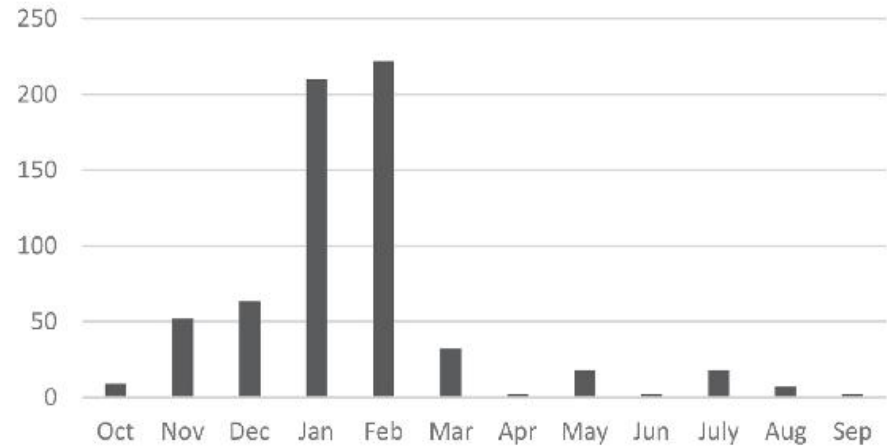


Figure 4.7: Distribution of fish from Southampton in 1447–8 (in carts per month).

This was 'grey' salt, from the bay of Bourgneuf near La Rochelle: any white salt probably came from the New Forest salterns, although by 1573 some was boiled in Southampton itself.[15]

Another specialist calendar situated here is the pattern of distribution of spices, dyestuffs, and mordants brought via the Mediterranean by the Italians (Fig. 4.9).

This was much more variable, since it was shaped to some extent by the dates of arrival of ships from Italy, which varied in numbers, cargoes, and from year to year. Venetian and Florentine galleys brought relatively small cargoes of high value commodities, whereas the huge sailing carracks of the Genoese, most evident in Southampton, brought bulk commodities of alum. Duxbury records the arrival of a Genoese carrack on 1 October 1438, 7 carracks on 11 January 1439, 10 carracks in 1439–40, and 2 Venetian galleys in April 1440.[16] In 1447–8, as Figure 4.9 shows, the peak was February – May, with a second peak in August. Unusually the survival of customs, local customs and brokage books for 1448–9 enable arrivals of Italian shipping and distribution of their cargoes to be timed. Two carracks arrived in January, another in June, and a fourth in August. As carracks and galleys never travelled alone, but some part-unloaded in Southampton before taking the rest to Flanders, these carracks had companion vessels somewhere. Obviously ships carried many times the capacity of carts. Only a third of the new

delivery of woad in January – 230 balettes – was distributed in the first month. The 600 bales of alum from a Genoese carrack on 5 June 1449 equated with 120 cartloads for carriage overland. Only half had passed through the Bargate by the end of September, the remaining 300 bales being stored in Southampton for distribution.[17] None of these products however were perishable: they could be stored in Southampton and transported in instalments throughout the year. Tracing distribution is not straightforward, but Harwood has demonstrated for 1448–9 how such products can be traced from the custom and local custom accounts through the brokage book.[18] When these products were carted from Southampton was certainly shaped by arrivals of shipping, but the calendar was also determined by when they were required for dyeing by the clothiers and when wool and woollen cloth, the normal return load, became available. Wool and especially cloth were also the principal return cargoes for the Italian ships, which had to wait for their arrival. The Italians wanted the best new wools, which were sometimes all bought up by the end of summer. There was also a 'season' for Essex cloth in Italy.

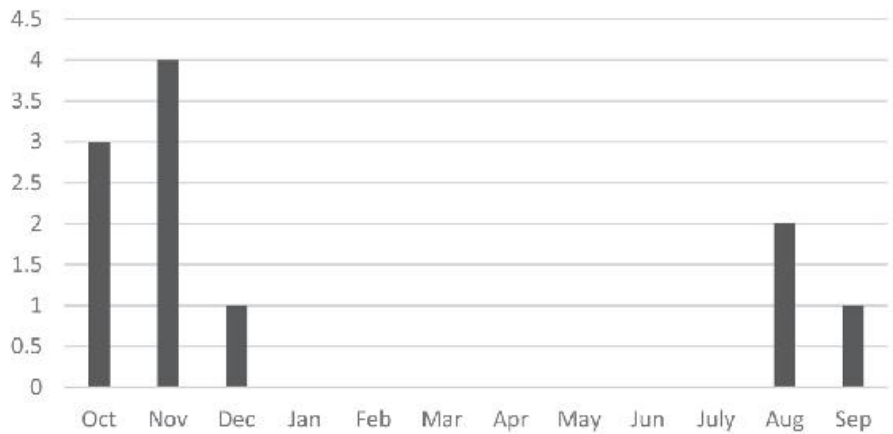


Figure 4.8: Distribution of salt from Southampton in 1447-8 (in carts per month).

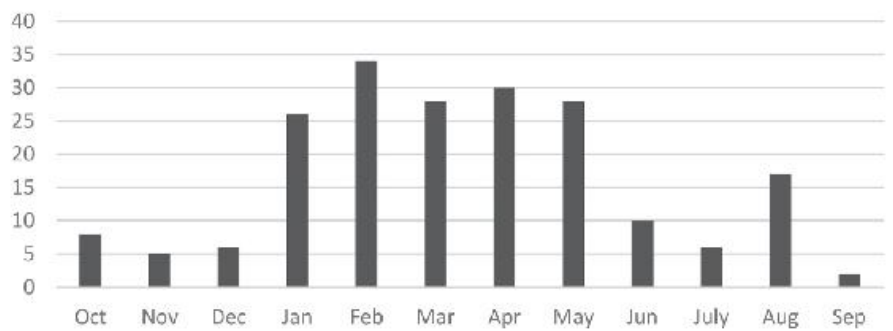


Figure 4.9: Distribution of spices from Southampton in 1447-8 (in carts per month).

Each commodity had its own calendar, even lesser commodities not explored here such as iron, wax, and lime.[19] The lime trade peaked in the late spring, in June, when 17 of the 50 deliveries of 1447–8 were recorded, March, April and May being the other main months. More significant however were other factors less closely related to the climate and arrivals of shipping.

The broker worked a six day week, Monday to Saturday, but no tolls were exacted – and presumably no carts went through the Bargate – on Sundays. Medieval people were expected to worship on Sundays and feastdays, when they were forbidden to work. The diary of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi is full of saints' days when nothing was accomplished.[20] Previous commentators have shown that carters must sometimes have travelled on Sundays to complete their journeys in time: perhaps the Church could not police the highways! Other Christian festivals were not so scrupulously observed. In 1447–8 nothing happened in Christmas week or on Michaelmas day, nor at Easter or Whitsun – both Sundays – but most other feasts seem to have been treated as working days. They may have been more strictly observed in the towns where their customers resided. Christmas and Easter were festivals at which wine consumption increased.

Despite its national and international standing, Southampton also served as a regional centre and local market, and was therefore integrated into these markets also. Southampton had its own markets: Letters states merely that there was one on Monday. However those marketing meat, dairy products, and fish needed to time their visits respectively for the flesh market near the Greyfriars, the dairy market in the High Street, and the fish market in St Michael's Square.[21] These were the first port of call for its immediate hinterland, whose rural residents marketed their own produce there and satisfied their needs, and was the larger centre where higher value goods and services were obtainable.[22] On the coast, of course, Southampton had no market area to the south. Incoming products did not pass solely to foreign ships: there were raw materials (e.g. malt, lime) and foodstuffs and manufactures for retail. Legally the mechanism was Southampton's own markets and fairs. The departing carts that left the Bargate carried loads belonging to at most six people, far more commonly one or two. Groups of carts were normally commissioned by single proprietors, who sometimes consumed all the produce themselves – wine for their great household or tavern, raw materials for their clothing enterprise – but who were normally wholesalers engaged in supplying industrialists, retailers and even consumers. Much that was carried directly to Romsey, Salisbury, and Winchester was surely marketed through their markets. Some at least was then conveyed to the lesser towns of Wessex – the knots on the skein of regional trade – where it was purchased by local consumers or peddled around smaller rural

settlements. All the trading networks beyond those directly linked to Southampton are concealed or only partly visible, but local markets and fairs also determined when trade happened that indirectly shaped the calendar of Southampton's overland trade. Professor Everitt has demonstrated how markets were shaped by their farming regions and thus often became specialised.[23]

Goods from Southampton were an element in the markets of Southampton's trading partners, which acted primarily as places of exchange for local rural produce and urban crafts and services. Southampton's contributions therefore needed to respect the timetable of these other markets and fairs. This need not mean that deliveries from Southampton had to be timed to the market day, always a specific day of the week, or during the fair. By 1349 46 markets had been licensed in Hampshire alone,[24] some abortive or soon defunct. Deliveries to Salisbury, Newbury, Oxford or Gloucester took several days and leading merchants like Aport, Halle, and Swayne in Salisbury, Seward in Wilton, and Monger at Gloucester could undoubtedly warehouse cartloads of produce, but some relationship should nevertheless be expected. Since the broker recorded the day of the departure from Southampton, such dovetailing is feasible, but this paper has not explored these relationships.

Fairs lasted several days. They were primarily beast markets, concentrated in the early summer and early autumn to facilitate distribution beyond the area of production.[25] Southampton is not known to have supplied beasts, but all fairs were opportunities to showcase Southampton's other products. A considerable numbers of fairs had been established, not all still operational, but only four fairs were cited as specific destinations in the 1447–8 brokage book, Romsey Fair (24 October), Weyhill Fair near Andover, which was also mentioned in 1448–9,[26] and at Winchester the Magdalen Fair (22 July), and St Giles Fair. St Giles Fair was no longer the great international event that it had once been. Revenues to the bishop had fallen from £63 in 1292 to £11 11s 1d in 1450, still a significant sum.[27] Only 9 consignments left Southampton explicitly for these fairs, none carrying the wine, spices, dyestuffs, or mordants that distinguish Southampton's trade. Four consignments (6 carts) to Weyhill consisted almost entirely of garlic, approximately 1,365 bunches, the remainder being two barrels of tar. Richard Bele, the substantial Southampton merchant, received 4 cartloads. Most deliveries to Romsey and Magdalen consisted of miscellaneous merchandise and pewter to Nicholas Misere (who also features with the same products at both fairs in 1446)[28] and John Chamberlain of Southampton. Chamberlain also consigned 2 batches of various merchandises and mercery to Winchester (3 and 5 September), probably for St Giles Fair. One cart of various merchandise departed explicitly for St Giles Fair on 12th. Actually there were another 18 cartloads despatched to Winchester between 26 August and 23 September, some perhaps unrelated, but including unusually miscellaneous products such as

corn (3), garlic (5), paving tiles (3), teazles, pewter, and tar for 18 owners. Such commodities indicate consumer products, a little like fairs today, rather than bulk transfers of the major imports in which Southampton specialised. Unfortunately the brokage books reveal no return cargoes except lime, a Winchester speciality. Even tolls on stock, anyway omitted, were a tenth of the 1292 level. Which consignments were despatched from Southampton to other fairs is also unrecorded.

How had the Calendar changed by 1527–8?

By 1527–8 the Italians rarely came to Southampton and hence no longer shaped the trading calendar as hitherto. The West Country cloth industry received its imported materials via London and exported cloth the same way. Much of the Italian trade had disappeared. Woad still entered Southampton and was distributed, so did figs and raisins and small quantities of hops, but there was scarcely any of the alum, dyestuffs, or oriental spices that had earlier distinguished Southampton's trade. Cloth still arrived, but in smaller quantities for fewer foreign destinations. Relatively little went to London. It was not that trade had diminished, but that it no longer came through Southampton. By the 1530s it was via London that the clothiers, Salisbury and Winchester were supplied with raw materials and spices, and by coastal shipping from London that Southampton received whatever was consumed there. This was one facet of London's attraction to itself of all foreign trade, both imports and exports, in lieu of former trade routes through Bristol, Hull, Southampton and other ports. Of course the growing town of Southampton and its hinterland still needed corn, drink (ale and wine), fish (especially oysters) and salt, iron and tin (a substantial newcomer by 1477–8), in return for which there came lime, malt, tallow and bricks (a newly fashionable product).[29] Southampton remained a market town and source of services for a more local hinterland. The shearing of sheep and the advent of Italian shipping no longer shaped a calendar that was otherwise unchanged.

Notes

1 Masschaele, *Transport Costs*, 266.
2 See below Ch. 12, 14.
3 E.g. Coleman 1443–4, xx.
4 T. S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England* (Oxford, 1959), Ch. 2.
5 P. Slavin, *Bread and Ale for the Brethren. The Provisioning of Norwich Cathedral Priory 1260–1536* (Hatfield, 2012), pp. 3 sqq.
6 D. L. Farmer, 'Marketing the Produce of the Countryside, 1200–1500', *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iii, *1348–1500*, ed. E. Miller (Cambridge, 1991), 329.
7 See below Ch. 17.
8 Stevens and Olding, xv.
9 Coleman, xxi.
10 P. J. Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1962), 22–3.
11 S. Duxbury, 'The Bonds of Trade: The Port of Southampton and the Merchants of

Winchester and Salisbury', in *The Ties that Bind. Essays in Honor of Barbara Hanawalt*, ed. L. E. Mitchell, K. L. French and D. L. Biggs (Farnham, 2011), 27. For this paragraph, see also below, Ch. 12.

12 *Ibid*. 25.

13 See below Ch. 12; Duxbury, *Bonds of Trade*, 21–37; Duxbury, thesis, passim.

14 P. W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993), 47. For more on the fish trade, see below Ch. 16.

15 *Court Leet Rec*ords, I (pt. 1), *1550–1577*, ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, SRSoc 1 (1905), 81–2. (1). Mrs. L. Fairbrother kindly supplied this reference.

16 Duxbury, thesis, 161–2.

17 Lewis, x–xi.

18 Harwood, Trade, 142–68. These three sources seldom survive for the same year.

19 But see Ch. 16 below.

20 M. E. Mallett, *The Florentine Galleys in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1967), 75.

21 Coleman *1443–4*, xxi; *x*), 158. Bookings of stalls for the flesh market were made every day of the week.

22 This is explained by Lee, *Cambridge Region*, 2–6.

23 A. Everitt, 'Marketing', *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iv, *1500–1640*, ed. J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1967), 490–6.

24 D. L. Farmer, 'Marketing the Produce of the Countryside, 1200–1500', *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iii, *1348–1500*, ed. E. Miller (Cambridge, 1991), 331.

25 *Ibid*. 339.

26 Lewis, xiv. Letters does not include Weyhill, which had no charter.

27 Farmer, 346.

28 Coleman *1443–4*, xxiii–iv.

29 Stevens and Olding, 123–211.

CHAPTER 5

THE FREIGHT TRANSPORT OF SOUTHAMPTON

Michael Hicks

The Carting Business in 1447–8

The brokage books are a crucial source for the haulage industry of late medieval England. There have been relevant studies before, by Langdon on horse-hauling principally of earlier centuries, but including evidence from the brokage books, and by Masschaele who calculated the transport costs of bulk transfers of wheat by the crown in the fourteenth century.[1] Southampton's Bargate on English Street (Fig. 5.1) was the principal point of access to and egress from Southampton and was manned by the broker. English Street inside the wall was colloquially called The Street of Smiths, presumably because it was the location of the blacksmiths needed to shoe the horses and mend the carts. The stretch outside the gate was dubbed the Street of Carters: presumably it was there (like a lorry park) that the bulky carts were parked between journeys. Then as now there was limited parking in the town. Heavy goods vehicles damaged the unpaved roadway. Empty carts need not enter the town,[2] but of course some did. Every cart leaving through the Bargate is recorded with its carter, cargo, the owner of the cargo, date and destination. Many inward journeys are also itemised. From these thousands of journeys, it is apparent that carts were of standard size, carrying 2 pipes of wine (252 gallons), 6 balettes of woad, 5 bales of alum, 3 quarters of malt and so on. These were horse drawn carts. There were also a few wains, much larger vehicles that Langdon identifies as ox drawn and therefore slower.[3] In 1447–8 34 wains carried a whole tun of wine, up to 20 balettes of woad, or 6 fothers of lead longer distances, to Bristol, Coventry, Salisbury and Sherborne. The smaller *bigae* or *carae* that occur elsewhere are never mentioned, but the brokage books do sometimes record half-charges for half carts. The Andwell map *c*. 1535–50 depicts carts en route near Basingstoke (Fig. 5.2). Packhorses occur infrequently. They were less efficient, carrying a tenth of the load of a

cart, and hence more expensive.[4] Virtually none of the smaller purchases of individuals resorting to Southampton's markets and shops are recorded, perhaps because carried on their persons by hand or in packs, or by pedlars, surely mainly for consumption in Southampton's immediate hinterland. What does occur in the brokage books are whole cartloads conveyed to specific destinations at which they were often divided, retailed, and/or redistributed in smaller quantities to villages and individuals. 'We can never measure the scale of this trade', wrote Thirsk. 'Chapmen, trowmen, higglers, and others distributed these wares more silently and stealthily than the smuggler by moonlight'.[5] The brokage books do not treat such consequential trade, although its existence – and sometimes the commodities, final destinations, and participants – can often be deduced.

Figure 5.1: The Bargate from within the walls. The council chamber was on the first floor.

Brokage data shows the importance of transport to distant locations, e.g. London, and that such traffic was uninterrupted, indeed at its peak, in the winter months when roads were traditionally thought to be impassable.[6] Lewis calculated from this data journey times to London, Romsey, Salisbury, and Winchester.[7] Thousands of carters are named, some with their place of residence. The database is a massive prosopographical source for this particular occupational group. What the brokage books unfortunately cannot reveal is how many horses were used, whether carters were independent cart-owners or employees, and whether each carter owned his own horse(s). Too often we know nothing of their inward journeys to Southampton. It is not known where the carters and their horses overnighted or how much rest the horses were allowed. There were inns with stables in market towns along the

main routes and it is possible that carters parked overnight on the ample verges. It is uncertain how owners elsewhere bought and sold in Southampton, hired their carters, or communicated their wishes to them remotely. However limited and inflexible the brokage books may be, this mass of data reveals much about the operation of the transport system.

From the standard loads carried, carts seem to have been of standard size, perhaps with the covers shown on the Andwell map (Fig. 5.2), and presumably pulled by standard teams, perhaps of 4–6 horses, maybe with a boy in attendance. The evidence is ambiguous: the Luttrell psalter shows a 3–horse team, the Andwell map one or two horses, and Masschaele deduces one horse per quarter of wheat. Langdon finds that a single horse could drawn 1 ton weight,[8] but this was presumably not day-after-day, over long distances, up hill and down dale. The brokage books sometimes indicate how long the journeys took, two days to and from Salisbury and four days to and from London in 1448–9.[9] Professional carters used main roads through towns, where smiths, wheelwrights and cartwrights were located. Perhaps carters frequented the inns researched by John Hare.[10] Presumably carters kept close to their loads and the horses needed proper sustenance and care. The inns may have provided food and shelter for horse, load and carter. As in later centuries, it is reasonable to suppose that additional horses assisted teams up the steeper hills and that teams of horses were changed at regular intervals or per trip, but such arrangements are absent from the brokage books and imply a more sophisticated haulage system than the brokage evidence alone supports. Lawsuits in the court of common pleas and chancery contain relevant data that is beyond the scope of this particular study.[11]

Like previous commentators, this study presumes that the carters were employed or commissioned, not performing tenurial carting services, which were probably extinct. If carting services endured anywhere, the Hampshire Downs where demesne farming continued into the 1440s is the most likely area. Those carting malt do appear a close knit group who carted to Southampton on no other occasions. That few major landholders were mentioned was partly because there were so few in a church-dominated county and indicate that the gentry generally acquired imports retail rather than wholesale.

It is important to understand what the sources reveal and how they are best employed. This discussion is based on a detailed analysis of the 2,078 batches recorded for 1447–8,[12] supplemented later by comparison with 1527–8.[13] Altogether there are recorded 1,941 outward journeys by 471 carters: roughly a third of these entries (791) relate to 351 groups of carters and two-thirds therefore to individuals, 50% of whom feature only once. Every entry records the name of the carter assessed and/or charged for local custom. Most carters appear to have worked alone with one cart: only 23 appear with more on only 42 occasions. What caused carters to be defined as a group was that they were charged together, left together for the same destination, and normally carried

goods for a single owner (or occasionally for a consortium). It was therefore the owner or his agent who assembled the group rather than the carters themselves as partners or informal associates. The agent ought to have been the broker, since brokage was normally charged for pairing owners and carters and was sometimes remitted when contracts were agreed outside Southampton, but brokage appears to be levied too automatically to be sure of this.[14] The Florentines had a carradore in Southampton, an agent who handled lading and unlading of ships and conceivably carting too, but they may also have hired carters ad hoc in the Cotswolds and London.[15] More detailed analysis is needed than is attempted here whether the Street of Carters operated like a taxi-rank, first come first served, or whether preference could be exercised by the broker and thus whether his favour was worth bribing. The taxi-rank analogy is far from exact, since individual carters focused on particular routes, long or short-haul. Those who carted to Salisbury might choose not to cart to Alton, let alone on to Coventry. Normally consisting of two or three carters, groups could number up to five. John Chavyn senior or junior feature in 24 groups. On this evidence groups of carters did not drop off commodities at intermediate destinations en route.

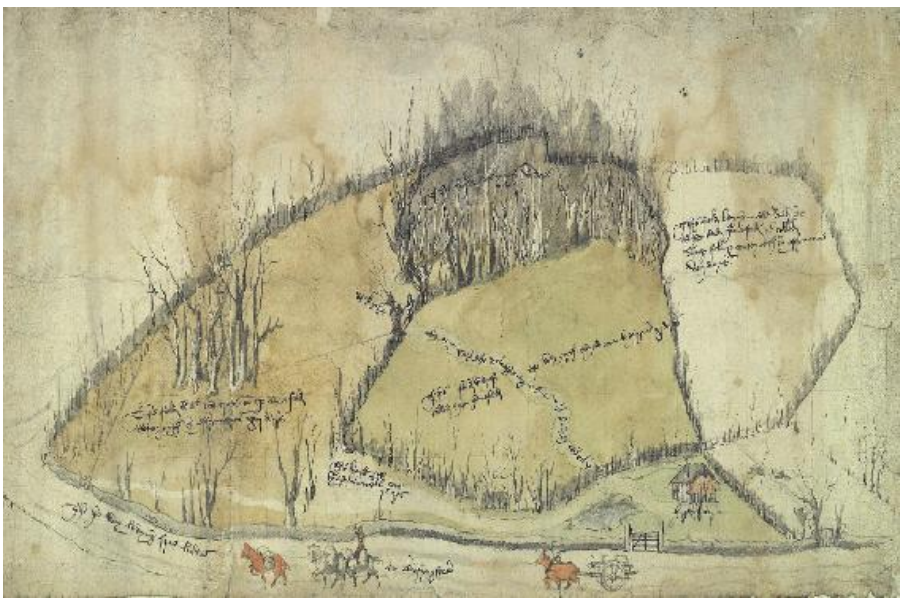


Figure 5.2: The Andwell map c. *1535–50.*

Groups of carters differ from batches of multiple carts, from two to eighteen, where the broker named only the man who accounted to him: the other anonymous carters may well have occurred separately elsewhere. The team leader may not actually have travelled, cannot actually have travelled on 18 December when William Hekley paid for carts to London and Oxford (8.8.19r7, 7a). Stephen Kyng on 11–12 June is another example. Since Hekley

paid at the Bargate for 11 carts on 27–28 June and for 9 carts on 5–6 July, it is not surprising that it was only on this one occasion that he was clubbed together with other carters as a group. If anybody wanted four cartloads from Southampton to Coventry or Shrewsbury, like Richard Taverner, Hekley was the obvious haulier to contact; alternatively a group was assembled. Multiple carts and groups of carts involved large orders, normally carrying one or two commodities, destined for the larger towns. Such groups usually took the trunk roads to Winchester (46), London (73), Romsey (14), or Salisbury (116), but occasionally ended up at Andover (4), Gloucester (3), Frome (2, Soms.), Wilton (8, Wilts.) or another 11 destinations. Salisbury was an important clearing house. Deliveries were made to Salisbury for merchants from 15 places further west, for retail there, to be forwarded to their home towns, or perhaps distributed more widely.

Elisabeth Lewis envisaged 'a community of more or less full-time carters', rightly, and 'a certain degree of cooperation and camaraderie'.[16] For 1448–9 she found that carters making six or more journeys accounted for 1,340 out of 1,765, 79%.[17] About forty carters appear more than part-time on the basis of the number of journeys distributed at all seasons of the year.[18] Seldom do the brokage books reveal (or even hint) where they operated from, such as John Gregory from [North] Baddesley (18v4), John Kytsel from Shirley (86v2), and John Twynham from Hursley.[19] The Italians and Stephen Forstere used many carters who worked for no-one else, who may have themselves been Londoners and were perhaps full-time, although penetrating the Bargate only occasionally. Whilst more research is certainly needed, the range of possible domiciles to research, from Bitterne to Aldermaston, is formidable.

The broker distinguished some carters with the same name, such as the four John Smiths of Cheriton, Crawley, Otterbourne and Winchfield (8.14v7, 8.18v8a, 8.28v3, 8.74r12), John Hancock of Montacute (Soms., 8.47v4) rather than Andover (Hants.), similarly the senior and junior John Bere (8.15v2, 25r8), John Chavyn (8.2v6, 6v6), John Kytsel (8.13v7), and John Walton (8.44r2) were sometimes identified, together with some less frequent visitors (from Somborne (Hants., 8.10v1) or owners (from Bruton, 8.3r4). Whilst far from systematic, such supplementary data must have been significant – why distinguish between John Bere senior and junior if father and son were a team? It may have been useful for accounting purposes, such as chasing up arrears in payment when credit had been allowed – at least some cases are known.[20] Presumably every carter needed a base – a home, a stable, a paddock for grazing, and a carthouse – from which he operated, no matter how far flung his commissions. Perhaps that was why several lived nearby rather than in Southampton itself. In a few cases custom was remitted because the carter was carrying on his own behalf, for personal use or retail. Thus John Hayward, who carted 40 consignments in 1447–8, took only one for himself, so he swore (36r7). That so few such claims were recorded suggests that even carters took their oaths seriously.

The broker exempted from local custom any carters carrying their own produce in their own carts. Some were primarily carters trading a little side, like John Kytsel of Shirley and Walter White of Winchester. There were local men, such as William Bole of Millbrook, or the four John Smiths (all apparently smiths) who carted their own iron: an obvious economy in freight charges. So did some traders from further afield, such as Henry Smith of Staines (2), John atte Bowre of Glastonbury (2), and William Newby of Leicester. More striking however are some more prominent figures. Richard Bele of Salisbury features 53 times as an owner, yet collected 8 cartloads of fish for himself – an investment of around a month of his own time, presumably in slack periods. Similarly William Fysher, responsible for 12 cartloads to Newbury, also carted 7 times, twice for himself, and John Warnwell of Hungerford, sufficiently substantial to be a county juror[21] and 5 times an owner, also carted thrice, once for himself. Altogether 57 men carted for themselves on 96 journeys, about 50% of the total.

In 1527–8, 80% of carters undertook no more than two journeys.[22] It is easy to suppose that such infrequent carters were not full-time but occasional, as no doubt many were, and used their carts and horses in other ways at other times, notably the harvest. Bunyard indeed judged that agricultural employment by itself explained the reduced traffic in the summer.[23] Evidently she thought local hauliers had insufficient capacity to shift summer imports quickly. While it is certainly true that the Londoners deployed numerous carters from elsewhere to transport alum, local resources were not inelastic, at least for short distances: William Hawtot brought in two batches of 60.5 and 66 qtrs of malt, representing approximately 20 cartloads in each case (8.29v10b, 8.36v1a). Far more carting was probably local than over distance – probably too local to attract the broker's attention, whether within Southampton, to and from its open fields, from wharf to warehouse/cellar, or in the hinterland to and from mills, markets, fairs and so on, at particular seasons. Everywhere there was less economic activity in the summer:[24] from May onwards the broker recorded far fewer carts and occasional carters, and hence the frequent carters bulk larger. The Londoners bulked larger too – Forstere commissioned 55 cartloads in June and July – and had to extend beyond their usual probably London-based carters (Holeway, Olyff, Poleyn, Risole) to the Southampton regulars identified above.

Remember, however, that brokage books do not record the whole business of any carter, just merely their incidence at Southampton Bargate, probably not all of that. Even a full-time haulier like Hekley, with 188 cartload journeys from Southampton in 1447–8, cannot have fully employed many of his carters on routes via the Bargate alone. Yet fully employed several must have been, perhaps not as carters, but more probably on other routes that did not pass through Southampton. The substantial total of 129 journeys seriously understates the activity of the two John Chavyns from their base at Wantage, approx. 58 miles away. Thomas Olyff and John Bradway, who carted thirteen

times and seven times respectively to London and on no other route, may well have been professional carters based in London. Perhaps the other 25 who occur nowhere else carted for the Genoese? Robert Lang, with 2 carts (7v10), and Thomas Cartliche, with 18 (97r9), may have been large scale hauliers based elsewhere. Stephen Bateman, who carried cloth from Kendal every year from 1492 to 1546, occurs at the Bargate only twice in 1528, yet was surely a professional carter to whom Southampton was a decidedly peripheral part of his northwestern practice.[25]

Every professional carter had a residence where he was based and a circle within which he worked – his practice. Trade to and from Southampton may have been only part of his business. Roger Gorwey of Newbury (Berks.), thirty miles from Southampton, may well have been full-time, but occurs only 18 times carting from Southampton, usually for John Crowk of Newbury: the rest of his practice, we may surmise, was with London and such Thames Valley towns as Oxford, Wallingford, and Abingdon. Probably John Golluk, who carted to Bristol, Salisbury, and London, operated from Bristol itself.

The brokage books record predominantly outward journeys from Southampton. In every case there must have been an inward journey too, either preceding it from a place of origin such as Romsey or Frome or returning after delivery from the destination. A minority of these inward journeys are recorded, either because untaxed or because empty. Brokage was never charged on these inward journeys, presumably because all carts coming into the town had been contracted to do so elsewhere. Any such arrivals recorded at Southampton are coupled with a return journey to another destination, one owner invariably from outside Southampton only being named: in and out had apparently been commissioned as a twoway journey at the same time. This was the normal practice of the Genoese and Stephen Forstere, for instance, although on occasion they hired additional carts for the outward journey. The broker never reveals where the inward journey commenced. In some cases this can be deduced, for example when consecutive journeys happen in close succession. This occurs for instance in June and July, when shortage of time makes it apparent that journeys from Southampton to London must have been immediately preceded by journeys from London to Southampton. On this evidence, it appears that alum, woad, and dyestuffs were delivered to Stephen Forstere and the Genoese in London, often for re-delivery (perhaps by water) to industries in the provinces (e.g. the Cotswolds), and that wool and cloth for the return journey was collected from London rather than from where sheared or woven. Two-way journeys for a single owner, such as the Salisbury merchants John Aport, Richard Bell, John Halle or William Swayne, probably started from Salisbury as well as ending there. Generally the broker itemises only single journeys from Southampton, yet these could have been the first leg of a two-way contract, perhaps commissioned by a supplier at the Southampton end. The degree of orchestration of transport is therefore understated in the brokage books.

Bradley shows how well the Italians coordinated shipping movements and transport inland.[26] Carters were surely concerned about return journeys and payment for them. Once at his destination, whether as close as Romsey or as distant as Coventry, many a carter was seeking a return cargo to Southampton or at least somewhere in that direction. It may have taken several more journeys between distant locations to bring him home (the tramp steamer model).

An extreme case of the wandering carter was Stephen Kyng. The 44 recorded journeys that took him 6,000 kilometres are much increased when 12 returns are factored in. On one occasion he operated a second cart, twice he features in a group, but generally he operated alone. Ralph Estmere at Salisbury was his most frequent client and he also worked for the Italians, but he actually had 31 clients. He carted to eleven locations, 21 times to Salisbury and 5 times to London, to Romsey, Wilton, and Winchester, but also far beyond. Five times Kyng found himself at Burford, Coventry, Gloucester, and Warwick in need of a return load. Of course he need not have proceeded directly to Southampton. After Southampton to Salisbury, he may for instance have gone from Salisbury to London (with cloth for Blackwell Hall), then reloaded in London for Southampton. Similarly he might have gone from Southampton to Burford, then from Burford to London (with wool) and reloaded in London for Southampton. Long-distance carting routes along the main roads radiated from London to its principal trading partners and Kyng may have worked several of these.

The principal carters serviced many suppliers and the most frequently occurring suppliers used many carters. Hekley had 37 clients: John Acton at Oxford, Philip Monger at Gloucester, and John Arblaster at Cirencester were repeat customers. The most important Winchester carters were Nicholas Amys (11 clients), John Atseler (14), William Austin (11), Walter White (15), and Thomas Jolyff (16). Similarly on the Southampton to London route alone Edoardo Cataneo used 32 carters for 92 journeys, Francesco Cataneo 13 carters for 28 journeys, Ugo Cataneo 24 for 67 journeys, Demetrio Spinola 34 for 72, and Giuliano Carold 19 for 41. Whilst clients had their preferences, hauliers normally had one cart only and were sometimes otherwise engaged, so both parties had to spread their selections. Only Hekley could regularly provide multiple carts from Southampton: a group of carters was the most frequent alternative. When Ralph Estmere ordered 7 cartloads of alum to Salisbury in January 1448, the order was fulfilled by Stephen Kyng in seven instalments: Estmere used no other carter this year. He was prepared to wait a month for his preferred carter.

Many carters focused on the Salisbury route, including Romsey on the way and Wilton and Andover beyond (or perhaps Andover direct). This was the geographical shape of the practices of John Barras, John Cadelton, John Hiller, John White, Thomas Hore, Thomas Smith, and Richard Wymond. Two other members of this group were John Walton, who also serviced the

Hampshire towns of Alresford, Andover, Basingstoke, and Hursley, and John Stobridge who carried additionally to Shaftesbury in Dorset, Marlborough and Ludgershall in East Wiltshire, Hungerford, Newbury and Reading in Berkshire, and even Chichester in West Sussex. From Southampton John Chavyn senior and junior of Wantage took 13 carts to Romsey, 74 carts to Salisbury, and 2 to Wilton just beyond, one to Gloucester, only one to Newbury (A34) and another to Winchester, and another 13 along the modern A31/A3 to London. In 1448–9 they made 98 journeys (plus return journeys), 18 by the younger man.[27] In 1447–8 the Chavyns worked for important merchants, the Cattanei (4), Spinola (1), Marini (1) and Stephen Forstere (8) from London, John Aport (2), Richard Bele (5), John Halle (2) and William Swayne (6) from Salisbury, and the Bristol merchants Nicholas Long (5) and Robert Sturmy (3). Six times they carried fish for Simon Patrik of Southampton to Salisbury. The close proximity of some journeys indicates that more than one were operating simultaneously. Although the broker did not always differentiate, it appears that the younger Chavyn travelled further afield, e.g. to Gloucester. He undertook most of the London and Winchester journeys, especially for Forstere, and worked for Long, whereas the elder man concentrated on the Salisbury route and worked especially for Patrik. Based in Wantage, however, they presumably traded in other directions too, perhaps with Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford and Reading.

The sheer variety of contracts is perhaps is the strongest evidence that most carters operated independently rather than as part of a haulage firm. William Hekley indeed is the only certain example of a haulier who managed a number of carters (the Pickford model). 'To one at least of the carters of 1439–40', observed Bunyard, 'carting was a profitable occupation'.[28]

William Hekley and his father John carted building materials for Southampton corporation.[29] John had lived in English Street near the Franciscan Friary, William outside the town at nearby Bursledon.[30] He frequently deployed two or more carts simultaneously in 1439–44: 8 carts were sent to Gloucester on 17 October 1443.[31] In 1447–8 he despatched 4 carts to Shrewsbury in October, 5 to Bristol and London on 5 April, 11 to London and Coventry on 27–28 June, and supplied 9 on 5–6 July. Who his carters were, whether they were all his carts and all his employees, or whether he bought in additional carts, is unclear. Hekley carted in person on occasion, as on 16 December when he arrived with 2 carts and despatched one each to London and Gloucester. There are other instances in 1448–9,[32] but maybe his was primarily an office job. Hekley's practice stretched exceptionally widely. Four commissions ended at Winchester, Farnham (Surr.), Sherborne (Dors.) and Windsor (Berks). In August 1441 John Hekley and William at Vode took 44 balettes of woad to London that were part of a cargo unloaded belonging to Giorgio da Lucca from one of two Genoese carracks which entered Southampton on 1 May.[33] In 1447–8 William had 24 commissions to London from Stephen Forstere, the Cattanei, the Spinola and the Carolds. The rest

ranged from Bristol in the west to Shrewsbury, Worcester and Coventry in the North Midlands and to London in the east.

Malt and lime are another three commodities that came into Southampton overland. The broker noted 103 deliveries of malt. Malt, unfortunately, was measured in quarters, not carts, so the cartloads cannot be counted. Some carts brought only 3 quarters, but some appear to have carried as many as 5 quarters. What is obvious is that there were many multiple batches, the extreme being the 66 and 60.5 of William Hawtot (8.29v10b, 36v1a) – perhaps as many as 20 cartloads (and carters) each time. It ought to be revealing that the broker recorded 18 groups of carters, which associate most of those involved in the trade, and that deliveries of malt cluster, as on Saturday 14 October when 7 carters brought in 43 quarters of malt in at least 11 carts. The broker was uninterested in the domicile of these carters and never mentioned it, though this may sometimes be deduced from the destination of the infrequent return cargoes or from other evidence. William Elyng was a well-known trader of Fordingbridge, Thomas Jolyff frequently carried from Winchester, and Richard Gorwey from Newbury, but most of the carriers of malt carried only malt – implying that they were themselves maltmen or otherwise employed in related occupations. Romsey occurs most frequently as a return destination. Loads apparently originated as far away as Fordingbridge and Ringwood across the New Forest, from Andover and Mottisfont in west Hampshire, and from Newbury in Berkshire. Many suppliers appear more local, perhaps from Southampton's modern suburbs. That could explain why so few carried return cargoes. Henry Curling, who made 14 deliveries of malt, apparently haled from Shirley (a Southampton suburb).

The trade in lime was quite different. Fifty arrivals of 61 carts were noted, no less than 17 in June, March, April and May being the other peak month. Return cargoes were almost invariably conveyed to 37 owners at Winchester, 17 journeys each being recorded by William Austin and Thomas Jolyff, the most important Winchester carters. Winchester was the hub of this trade and midsummer was the peak season. Corn freight, in contrast, was integrated with more general traffic and attracted no specialist carters.

'By the mid-fifteenth century', writes Farmer, 'professional hauliers were travelling routinely between the midlands, London, Oxford, Bristol, Salisbury, and Southampton'.[34] This is not to say that regular carrier services existed. The brokage books certainly show that carts were leaving Southampton at least weekly for Salisbury, Winchester, and London, but each was commissioned privately for a personal cargo by one or more owners. What a regular carrier service entailed in the mid seventeenth century was a cart on a specific day of the week at a specific inn to a specific destination that carried goods for a variety of customers and which had the same organiser and was conducted by a regular carter. None of these features apply in 1447–8. Frequent carts did radiate out from Southampton, carrying goods for at most

four owners, but not necessarily on regular dates. Carters specialised on particular routes and often travelled together: the Southampton–Winchester route was plyed by Amys, Atseler, Austin, Walter White, and Jolyff, who frequently travelled beyond to London too. Although friendly enough to travel together, these carters seem to have operated independently. Unless part of larger organisations with interchangeable carts and carters, which do not appear from the records and which the broker would surely have identified as liable for taxes.

The Carters in 1527–8

There were far fewer journeys in 1527–8, as Figure 5.3 shows, and also more packhorses than carts, to a narrower range of destinations. Coventry still featured and so now did Kendal, but there were fewer consignments to and from London or to the Somerset cloth towns, and none to Bristol, Cirencester, Gloucester, Worcester or Shrewsbury. Potential customers beyond a 50-mile radius no longer needed to frequent Southampton. Proportionately more was conveyed to minor locations in Wiltshire (e.g. Amesbury, Bedwin, Collingbourne), Hampshire (e.g. Broughton, Stonham), and Berkshire (e.g. Wokingham). Less owners were commissioning multiple carts. Surely therefore there was less work for professional carters than 80 years earlier? Most of the surnames of the carters had changed – though there were still a John Hiller and a Thomas Swolfe plying the Southampton-Salisbury route – but the traffic and the hence the businesses survived. The three Tydemans took trains of packhorses to Kendal and Robert Christopher was based perhaps in Coventry. The London route was serviced by William Hunt, who had at least 2 carts, William Hurest, and Thomas Elderfield. The Winchester route was served by Thomas and John Blake and by the Wests, Nicholas and Roger and George, who often carted to Newbury also. Richard and Robert Hynbest, Hiller and Swolfe, Thomas Turner and John Schetel carted mainly to Salisbury. As in 1447–8, different teams of carters – sometimes as many as 6 or 8 – carried the corn, lime, and oysters.[35] Regular services, in the sense defined above, had yet to develop.

Who were the Carters?

The database is a massive prosopographical resource for two categories of occupation, traders (not discussed here) and carters. What sort of men were the carters? These may have been family businesses, although the brokage books do not reveal whether Ingram, John and Richard Hewet, John and Richard Hooker, Ingram and John Twynham were related and in what degree. Presumably the seniors and juniors were father and son: but what about Henry Chavon in 1439–40? John Chavyn carted on his own behalf towards Salisbury that year, but appears actually to have lived further afield, in Wantage

(Oxon.).[36]

Locating the residence and centre of operation of a carter is the starting point to establishing their genealogies and local standing. Most of the professional carters of this year carted all decade, from 1439–49, some like Kyng building up their business, others like Yelderfield/Zelderville apparently winding down. A carter needed to possess some capital or have access to it: to a cart capable of carrying 2 pipes of wine weighing 2, 100 lb (252 gallons at 8.34 lb per gallon), almost a ton, up Downs and down dale; to a team of horses; to at least one additional waged groom; and to the loose change needed to pay for shoeing, the many minor spare parts and repairs needed for the cart,[37] overnight accommodation (at inns?) for man and beasts often for several nights, and to defray brokage, custom, pontage and any other dues, even though, ultimately, these must have been charged to the customer. A clue to carters' standing is that 57 traded on their own behalf, the broker exempting from brokage those trading on their own behalf in their own carts – for personal consumption or, at least, to retail themselves. Most of these loads were carried by rare visitors to Southampton – such as Ralph Panter from Leighton Buzzard (Beds.), Henry Smith of Staines (Mdx.), John at Bower of Glastonbury (Soms.) – or by locals from Millbrook or other Hampshire villagers. Three, John Hayward, John Hiller *alias* Hillier, and John Kytsel were substantial carters. Hiller carried for himself 12 qtrs corn in four cartloads in June and July, Hayward 3 qtr malt on 6 July, and Kytsel transported 5 cartloads of wine (1,260 gallons) in 1447–8, not only a large quantity of a valuable commodity, but the indicator surely of an inn or secondary vintner business rather than personal consumption. Kytsel executed 31 commissions in 1448–9.[38] He specialised in carrying wine, on 23 occasions, though he did carry the usual variety of commodities – woad, alum, madder, herrings, fruit, bowstaves – particularly to London, where 9 journeys were commissioned by the Londoners Forstere, Passant, and Somerton and the Italian Catanei and Carolds. Actually there were two John Kytsels, junior occurring once, and two carts operated simultaneously 4 times in 1447–8 and twice in 1448–9.[39] Kytsel haled from Shirley, now a suburb of Southampton. Thirty entries in the book report or imply 72 journeys. The Kytsel practice was distinctive in two ways. Apart from one delivery of lime and the five selfdeliveries, John Kytsel operated beyond the 30-mile semicircle embracing such nearby towns as Winchester, Romsey, Wilton and even Salisbury (1) to Burford, Glastonbury, Gloucester (6), Marlborough, Oxford (5), and Reading (2). Philip Monger at Gloucester and Janet Burton at Oxford were repeat customers.

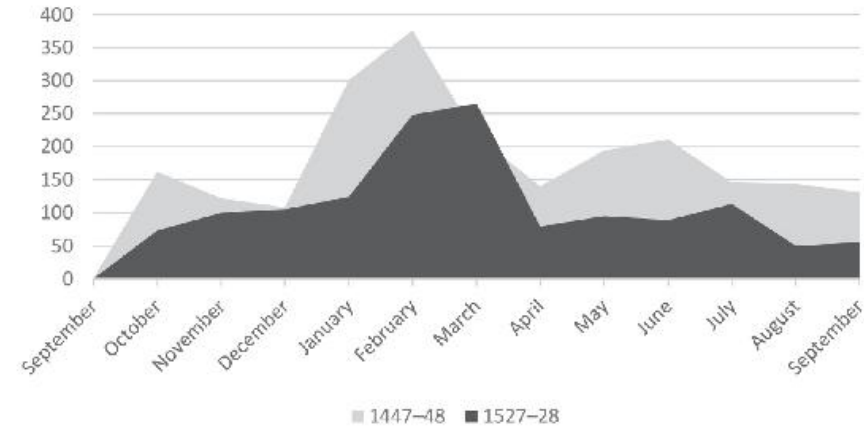


Figure 5.3: Numbers of carts in 1447–8 and 1527–8 compared.

Figure 5.4: Aerial photograph showing ten medieval undercrofts at Southampton.

The later brokage books more often give the carters' addresses. In 1527–8 two prominent carters were Edmund Day of Stonham, another northern suburb of modern Southampton, most frequently on the Winchester and Newbury routes, and John Schetel of Eling, just over the River Test, who generally carted to Salisbury. Others were Robert Ogbourne of Broughton, further up the Test, and John Jorge of Farnham (Surrey) on the road to London.[40]

Once located, carters may be found in the records of their manors, towns and counties. Most appear of little weight even locally, below the level of county juries, but others were of greater account. John Gregory was juror at an inquisition in Southampton in 1447; John Warnwell of Hungerford was a Berkshire county juror.[41] Common names are a problem. Was the John White juror at Romsey in 1446 the carter?[42] Hekley is the main exception. Perhaps he never carted for himself, but the haulage business brought him to the stewardship of Southampton in 1453–4. In 1451 he apprenticed his son, who himself was steward in 1481 and sheriff in 1488.[43] The rest, it appears, merely made a living.

Notes

1 J. Langdon, 'Horse-hauling: a Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England', *Past and Present* 103 (1984), 37–66; *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation. The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066 to 1500* (Cambridge, 1986); J. Masschaele, 'Transport Costs in Medieval England', *EcHR* 46 (1993), 266–79.

2 *The Southampton Terrier of 1454*, ed. L. A. Burgess, SRSer xv (1976), 14; S. C. Duxbury, 'The Redistribution of Wine from Southampton in the Fifteenth Century', Minnesota PhD thesis (1996), 44; Lewis, xviii. Were there also inns to accommodate them?

3 Langdon, 'Horse-Hauling', 60.

4 *Ibid.*; Masschaele, 269.

5 J. Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects. The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978), 3.

6 Bunyard, xxi–xxii.

7 Lewis, xviii.

8 Langdon, 'Horse-hauling', esp. 60; Masschaele, *Transport Costs*, 269.

9 Lewis, xviii. However this data relates to the carters, not necessarily the horses.

10 J. N. Hare, 'Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England, 1350–1600', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013). Most probably carters slept in inn halls.

11 E.g. TNA C1/48/36. Kay Lacey supplied some of the suggestions in this paragraph.

12 Harwood 1447–8; Harwood 1447–8 CD; database. Unless otherwise indicated, these are the sources for what follows.

13 Stevens and Olding.

14 Coleman, *1443–4*, xiv.

15 Prato, Fondo Datini, 407471, 407477: information supplied by Helen Bradley.

16 Lewis, xvii.

17 *Ibid*. xviii.
18 E.g. John Atseler, Nicholas Amys, William Austin, John Barras, John Basset, John Bere snr and jnr, John Bernard, John Cadelton, Thomas Callaway, John Chavyn snr and jnr, John Dyper, John Gregory, John Hayward, William Hekley, Ingram and Richard Hewet, John Hiller/Hillier (if the same), John and Richard Hooker, Thomas Hore, Thomas Jolyff, Stephen Kyng, John Kytsel, William Lawrence, John Longland, Walter Pallington, John Pinhorne, Thomas Smith, John Stobridge, Thomas Swolf, Ingram Twynham, John Walton, John Waryn, John White, Walter White, John Woodley and Richard Wymond.
19 Coleman *1443–4*, 15.
20 Bunyard, xix and n.
21 *CIPM* xxv. 544; see also M. Holford, '"Thrifty Men of the Country"? The Jurors and their Role', *The Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions post Mortem: A Companion*, ed. M. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2012), 207–8 and sources cited.
22 Stevens and Olding, xvii.
23 Bunyard, xxx. Duxbury disagreed, thesis, 249.
24 Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations*, 6–8.
25 Stevens and Olding, xvii.
26 See below Ch. 6.
27 Lewis, xviii.
28 Bunyard, xxii.
29 Lewis xviii.
30 Coleman, *1443–4*, 3; Lewis, xix.
31 Coleman, *1443–4*, 7, 12, 20, 28; Bunyard, passim.
32 Lewis, xviii–xix.
33 Also recorded in *Views* no. 53, p. 123.
34 Farmer, 352; see also Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, 3.
35 Stevens and Olding, 123–7, 172
36 Bunyard, xxiii; *CIPM* xxvi. 361.
37 Bunyard, xxv.
38 Lewis, passim.
39 Lewis, xix.
40 Stevens and Olding, 127, 141, 178.
41 *CIPM* xxv. 544; xxvi. 531, 532.
42 *CIPM* xxvi. 450.
43 Lewis, xix; Bunyard, xxii.

Chapter 6

SOUTHAMPTON'S TRADING PARTNERS: SALISBURY

John Hare[1]

Salisbury was one of the largest and richest towns of later medieval England and it dominated the overland trade of Southampton. In nine of the 14 years for which calculations have been made more carts went to Salisbury than to any other town, and in the others it was second only to London (Fig. 6.1).[2] Southampton served as the city's outport despite the considerable distance (25 miles) between the two centres. Salisbury's national prominence appears in the 1524–5 subsidy where it ranked eighth in ranking terms of taxpayers, and seventh in terms of taxable amount. In 1377, Salisbury already ranked seventh in the poll tax population with a probable total population of about 6,500.[3] The city was a major manufacturing centre, particularly for cloth, but it was also a trading and marketing centre for a much wider area beyond. Ships bringing goods into Southampton returned with English cloth. The English clothiers who took the cloth of Salisbury and its hinterland to Southampton returned to the city with wine, dyestuffs, and luxuries. The export of cloth lay at the heart of the Southampton–Salisbury trade, at a time when Southampton was a great cloth exporting port second only to London.

The brokage books provide a rich and fascinating view of this trade, although they are much fuller on goods being sent *out* than on goods brought *in* to the port.[4] Moreover, while Southampton was Salisbury's pre-eminent outlet, it was not the only one. London was a dominating and growing port with major and active connections to Salisbury.[5] The trade of Salisbury and the capital had long been closely interlinked. The city was also closely associated with Poole in Dorset, another significant port with close associations with the French, the Channel Islands and coastal trade.[6] Poole was not much further away than Southampton and Salisbury's interest here emerges in the activities of some of its merchants and citizens. John Staunford and Thomas Chaffyn were engaged in customs collection there, and Richard Bartelmew, Thomas Coke and William Webbe all actively traded through

Poole.[7]

Cloth exports varied from year to year, particularly in Southampton, which was so dependent on the fluctuations of the Italian trade.[8] Such fluctuations clearly affected the fortunes of hinterland towns including Salisbury. Alien exports, mainly Italian, were steady and high in the 1430s and 1440s, fluctuated increasingly from the late 1440s, but at a lower level in the later fifteenth century, before recovering to new heights in the early sixteenth century and then falling in the later 1520s and early 1530s, and even more thereafter. The recovery in the early sixteenth century was to a large degree based on a growth in alien exports.

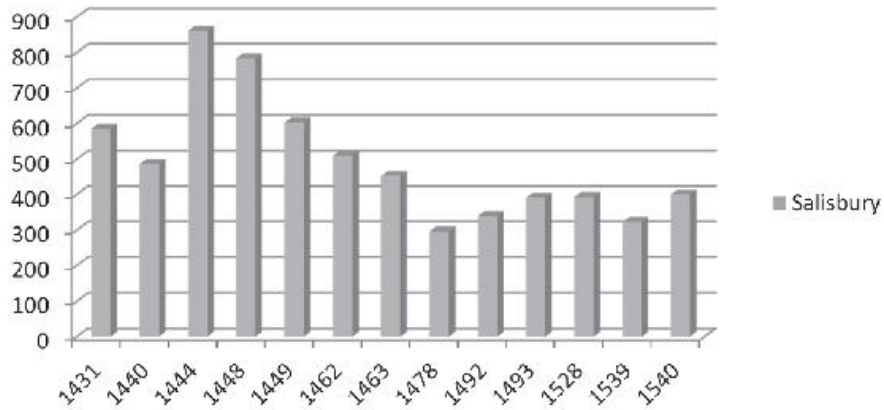


Figure 6.1: Number of carts from Southampton to Salisbury 1430–1540.

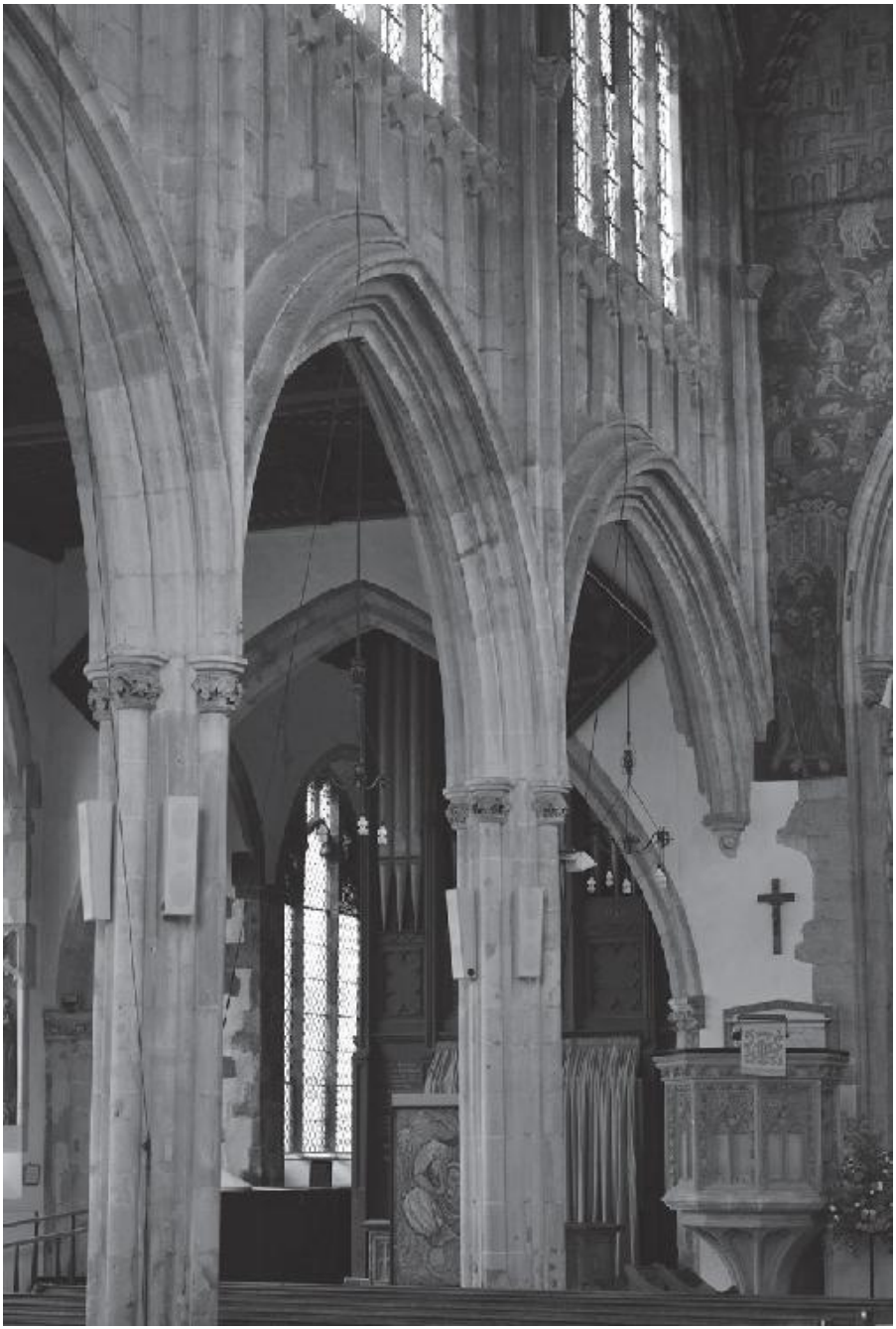


Figure 6.2: St Thomas' Church, Salisbury. The church with its elaborate panelling was rebuilt on a new and much grander scale in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century reflecting the wealth and aspirations of the citizens.

Behind these export fluctuations, Salisbury remained a prosperous city, as can still be seen in its buildings. During the fifteenth century all three parish

churches were rebuilt: that of St Thomas (Fig. 6.2) in particular showing the conspicuous consumption of its merchant class.[9] Its wealth is also reflected in the housing redevelopment of the period. The Royal Commission on Historic Monuments listed about 56 houses built in the fifteenth century. These included the magnificent double jetted houses in the rich High Street area (Fig. 6.3) and the lavish display of John Halle's stone built hall (Fig. 6.4), as well as less ambitious timber-framed terraces.[10] But within this picture of prosperity were also phases of short term difficulty as also reflected in the brokage books. The 1440s were the peak of Salisbury's domination. In the aftermath of the disruption of 1450 came economic recession and there were later difficulties with the Italian trade and the French trade. Cloth exports, the lifeblood of the Salisbury-Southampton, were at a lower level. These economic difficulties resulted in the fall in the Salisbury city chamberlain's rental in the early 1450s and the 1470s and in the decision of the city that, if rents fell, obits financed by rents might not be provided.[11]

Salisbury and its Hinterland. The Provincial Capital

It is against this background that the brokage books should be viewed. The city was particularly dominant in the 1440s, when it substantially led London in its share of Southampton's overland trade. Its relative importance declined later in the century, falling behind London in the four years 1461–3 and 1491–4. Salisbury marginally led London in 1477–8. The city also seems to have lost some of its trading domination over the area around. In the early sixteenth century, when Salisbury again overtook London, it was probably more because of a withdrawal of London merchants from the Southampton trade than of a changing role for Salisbury's merchants Both cloth exports and the relative importance of Salisbury in the brokage books indicate three phases of trade: the period of Salisbury's pre-eminence and greatest prosperity for the cloth industry: relative decline from the 1460s to the end of the century; and finally a period of recovery. While the precise dating of these phases may be unclear, each is represented in the database.

Figure 6.3: A fifteenth-century house with double jetty: Silver Street, Salisbury. A major building project at a time of economic difficulty.

Figure 6.4: The hall of John Halle, Salisbury. The hall with its fine external stone paneling and elaborate decorated roof was a piece of conspicuous consumption by one of the richest and most powerful men in the city.

Salisbury dominated the trade of the area around. This is best seen by comparing the goods sent to Salisbury and those to other places in Wiltshire

(Fig. 6.5). The county looked three ways for trade, westwards to Bristol, eastwards London, and southwards to Southampton. Salisbury's trade was not responsible for all Wiltshire's trade, but its hinterland towards the south and west also extended beyond the county borders. A crude comparison is provided by the number of carts. During the 12 years of the data base, Salisbury was the destination for 93.3% of carts going to Wiltshire, with 4,578 carts, while Marlborough, the next most important, only received 84. Salisbury's dominance as a trading centre was clear. The rest of the county came into the city's markets to buy materials brought in from Southampton, as seen in the pie charts for wine, woad and fish, three of the key components in Southampton's overland trade (Fig. 6.5). Outside traders often used the Salisbury market. In October 1449, Nicholas Lange of Bristol was engaged in much trade from Southampton. Some of the goods he bought in the port were taken to Bristol, but much was sent to Salisbury.[12] Cloth traders who had purchased goods in Southampton could either market them in the city or take them home.[13] James Touker, an important clothier of Bradford-on-Avon, bought woad in Southampton in 1444 and 1448. In 1444, he brought it into Salisbury for sale, but in 1448 he sent it back directly to Bradford. In the years 1461–3, only traders from Southampton, Romsey and Broughton (in Hampshire) sent goods to Salisbury. Many merchants based beyond the city took their goods to Salisbury but no further: they knew that they could sell their products there. The great market square provided a suitable space for such regional marketing. The brokage books record such trading here by men from Wilton, Westbury, Devizes, Bradford, and Amesbury in Wiltshire; Bruton, Frome, Shepton Mallet, Leigh on Mendip, Yeovil, Langport, Taunton, Barnstaple, Bridgwater in Somerset, and Bristol, Exeter and Hereford beyond. Further afield a merchant of Waterford brought fish to the city (14.36r7)[14] and one from Cologne brought thread (14.53v5, 14.55r2).

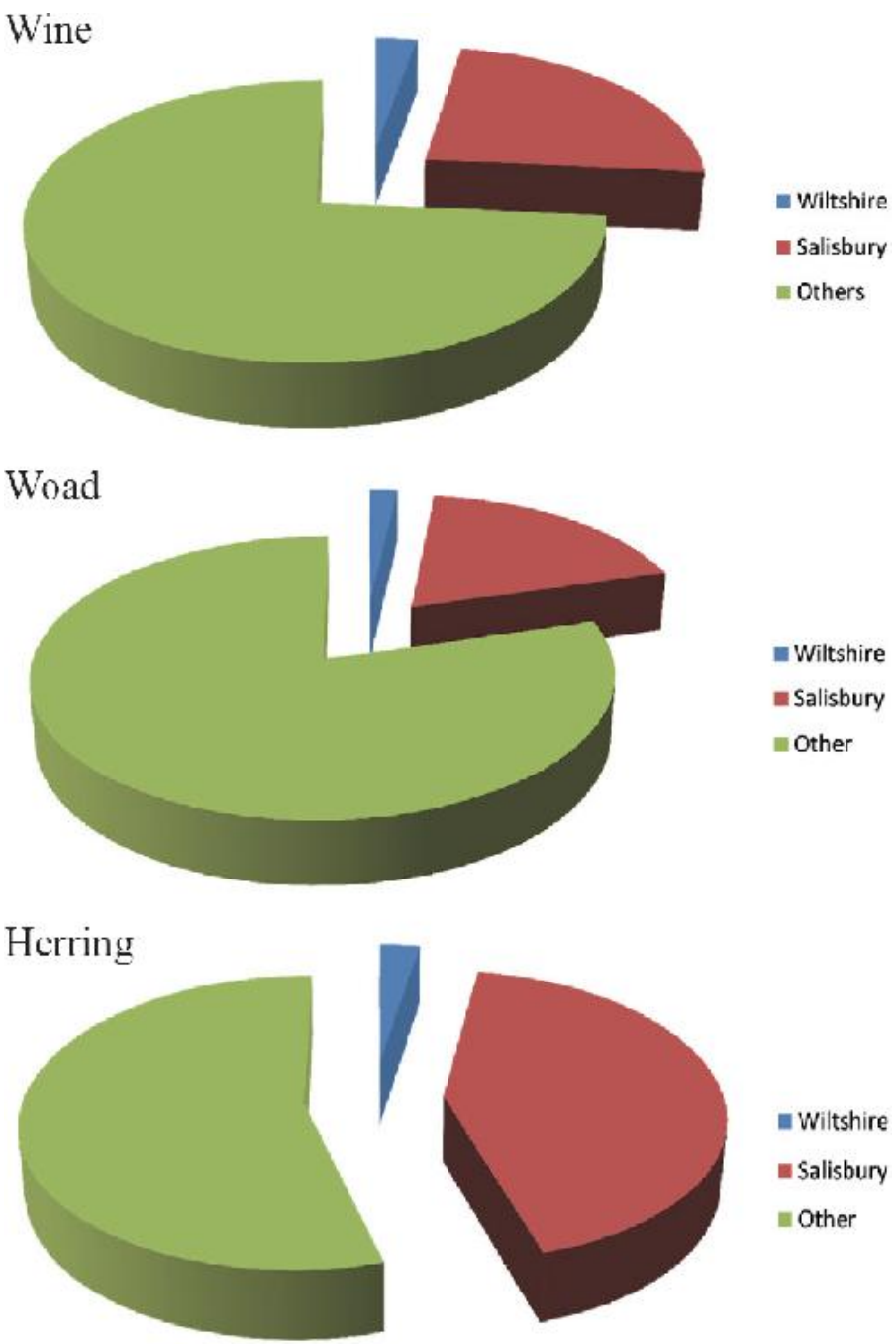


Figure 6.5: Salisbury and its hinterland: Trade with Salisbury, Wiltshire and beyond Wiltshire.

	Total	1431	1440	1448	1462	1465	1478	1492	1495	1528	1539	1540
Salisbury wine (gallon)	276,696	22,931	16,162	43,377	27,208	28,140	19,064	23,814	34,117	14,805	16,359	16,569
Salisbury wine (% of total)	23.6	24.1	23.3	37.4	29.5	21.4	18.5	25.4	15.3	26.6	30.7	30.8
Wiltshire wine (gallon)	32,837	7,938	2,520	3,686	2,772	1,765	3,528	599	1,323	3,224	882	1,008
Wiltshire wine (% of total)	2.8	8.4	3.6	3.2	3.0	1.3	3.4	0.6	0.6	5.8	1.7	1.9
Salisbury woad (balets)	4,306	549	974	838	925	566	126	104	66	3	24	93
Salisbury woad (% of total)	18.7	19.5	21.4	29.2	21.1	14.1	10.5	26.4	39.1	3.1	1.9	8.5
Wiltshire woad (balets)	415	21	51	94	79	151	3	4				
Wiltshire woad (% of total)	1.8	0.7		3.3	1.8	3.8	0.2	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Salisbury herring (all sorts) (barrels)	3979	360	461	999	361	419	209	57	131	325	281	232
Salisbury herring (% of total)		53	61.4	54.1	50.2	67.1	45.6	18.4	45.5	35.5	25.2	26.8
Wiltshire herring (barrels)	222	6	21	95	0	0	5	17	6	21	15	30
Wiltshire herring (% of total)		0.9	2.7	5.1	0	0	1	5.5	2.8	1.2	3.4	2.5

Figure 6.6: Salisbury and Wiltshire: Annual trade in wine, woad and herrings.

The Mercantile Elite of the City

Who were main players in the Southampton–Salisbury trade? Figure 6.7 provides an assessment of some of the Salisbury merchants on the database. These figures concern the Salisbury–Southampton trade alone, and exclude other parts of a merchant's trade, such as with London. The activity is measured both in carts and transactions, with each entry in the database representing a single transaction, both methods have their own problems, but together they give a sense of the scale of activities and of the changing fortunes of the merchants concerned. Neither carts nor transactions provide a measure of size or cash value. The figure for carts may slightly exaggerate an individual's figure, since occasionally a cart or carts may be linked in the brokage book to more than one trader, but checking this in particular years does not suggest that this would usually generate a significant distortion amongst the main merchant traders, most of whose trade was done in carts specifically assigned to themselves. Moreover, most goods were recorded in single carts, but multiple carts became more frequent, though still unusual. There were already many doubles, some trebles and a few quadruple carts in 1448, and they continued to accumulate reaching a peak in 1492–3 with groups of up to 23 carts leaving Southampton (including 2 × 10 carts, 2 × 15, 6 × 21 and 1 × 23), but such large groups of carts became less frequent in the sixteenth century. Moreover, the case of 21 carts in 1492–3, assigned to 7 merchants and including two of our traders (Richard Bartelmew and Thomas Coke) seems exceptional (29.44r2).

Much of the city's trade was in the hands of Salisbury's great merchants whose interests and activities went far beyond Salisbury and Southampton.[15] It is difficult to pick up references to the wider activities of such men, the brokage books being restricted to the internal trade and almost exclusively to their Southampton trade, so that our knowledge is restricted to a tiny minority of those who were involved in trade beyond the city. Some Salisbury merchants imported goods into Southampton. John Aport imported a wide range of goods from Middleburg in 1430, wine from Lisbon in 1439–40, and had connections with Guernsey. His probable son, another John, imported hemp, cork and ginger in 1469–70, and was one of the most highly assessed in the city. William Barlow imported a variety of goods in 1440 and 1451. John Halle possessed at least one ship, exported cloth to Gascony and invested in Sturmy's failed attempt in 1457–8 to open up the Mediterranean to English trade. In 1507, William Webbe and Thomas Coke were pardoned for trading with Scandinavia.[16] Richard Bartelmew, Thomas Coke and Thomas Chaffyn all actively traded abroad through Poole.[17]

		1430 1431	1439 1440	1447 1448	1461 1462	1462 1463	1477 1478	1491 1492	1492 1493	1527 1528	1538 1539	1539 1540
John Halle	Tr			90	57	25	21					
	Ca			77	63	22	24.5					
William Swayne	Tr		6	39	39	3						
	Ca		7	36	37	6						
Thomas Pakker	Tr	2	8	35								
	Ca	2	6	42								
William Eaton	Tr				30	37	1					
	Ca				26	31	1					
William Lyghtfote	Tr			42								
	Ca			35								
John Aport	Tr	4	23	16	6	3						
	Ca	3	15	21	6	3						
Henry Baron	Tr	72	33									
	Ca	72	33									
William Boket	Tr				76	106	42	15				
	Ca				64	82	71	33				
Richard Bartelmew	Tr						10	44	12			
	Ca						11	41	61			
Richard Cherite	Tr				4	7	38	11	25			
	Ca				6	6	42	11	24			
Thomas Coke	Tr				1	1	5	65	53			
	Ca				1	*1*	*6*	*80*				
William Webbe	Tr							16	3	29		5
	Ca							16	11	41		9
Thomas Chaffyn	*Tr*									35	6	3
	Ca									62	9	2

Tr = Transactions. *Ca* = Carts. Each single transaction constitutes a separate entry in the database. The number of carts represents the number assigned to an individual merchant. This may include duplication where the contents of a cart(s) belonged to more than one person.

Figure 6.7: The trading activities of some Salisbury merchants (in carts and transactions).

Some traders had London associations: William Boket, the pre-eminent

Salisbury merchant in the brokage books in the later fifteenth century, ended up as a freeman of London (28.1r.1). London connections and familiarities are also hinted at by the widow of Thomas Pakker, a mercer who imported much wine, woad and other goods from Southampton. After his death she married a London haberdasher.[18] Salisbury's connections with the capital were extensive, but most may have been direct and unrelated to the brokage books or the Southampton trade.

Finally some Salisbury merchants were active outside the city. John Aport sent wine to Basingstoke, Reading and Warminster as well as to Salisbury. John Halle sent herring to Romsey and Andover, wax to the rival ecclesiastical centre of Winchester (where in 1450–1 he supplied Winchester College with about three-quarters of its requirements), and had debts owing from a husbandman in St Marybourne, near Andover.[19]

But who were main players in the Southampton-Salisbury trade? At the top lay the mercantile elite of the city: the mercers and the grocers: exporting cloth and importing a range of industrial and luxury items, particularly from the Italian ships. William Swayne was a grocer as well as a powerful cloth trader, being responsible for more marketed cloth in 1466–7 than anyone else.[20] In the 1440s he regularly imported a wide range of goods from Southampton: dyestuffs, wine, fruit, wax, almonds, oil, soap, and fish. In 1449 he was involved in more journeys from Southampton than any other citizen. He continued as a large-scale importer in 1461–2, but this fell sharply in 1462–3 (all for dyestuffs). In the exceptional year of 1443–4 he controlled about a quarter of the woad that went to the city.[21] He financed his chantry chapel at the rebuilt church of St Thomas (Fig. 6.8).

Swayne's rival John Halle became economically important in the 1440s. Absent from the brokage book of 1439–40, by 1443–4 he was importing tar, garlic soap, oil, herring, salmon and iron, and presumably exporting cloth. His importance had grown by 1447–8, when he imported fish, dyestuffs (alum, madder, woad), soap, tar, oil, teasles, spices, hops, raisins and fruit, and was responsible for 89 journeys or almost a tenth of the city's total from Southampton. In 1448–9 he imported a wider range of products including wine, spices and woad, but on a smaller scale. He handled a similar range in 1461–3, but this fell when he imported no woad. In 1477–8, his trade further diminished and his miscellaneous goods contained no dyestuffs, which by then were greatly reduced among Southampton's imports. The range of his activities is reflected in the contents of his shop, with its variety of cloth, flax, hats, caps, bonnets and other mercery; spices, such as pepper, cloves, mace and ginger; pitch, tar, woad, madder and several sorts of wine. He was described in 1467 as alderman and wool merchant. His reputation as a great wool merchant was remembered in the seventeenth century by John Aubrey.[22] The profitability of his trade was lavishly displayed in his new stone hall (Fig. 6.4).

Contemporaries of Swayne and Halle included other merchants active in

the Southampton trade who were often key players in the economic and political life of the city. John Aport's activity took him beyond the city and abroad. One of the major importers of wine from Southampton, he also traded in a wide range of goods.[23] William Easton, active in 1461–3, concentrated on woad, but also traded in other goods associated with cloth production (soap, oil, alum and madder) as well as wine, paper and spices. Thomas Pakker, mercer, traded in the 1430s and 1440s. He was mainly active in wine and woad, but also traded in oil, iron and bowstaves. William Lyghtfote traded extensively in 1447–8 with 42 transactions including a wide range of spices, wine, herring, alum, woad, wax, fruits, stone, haberdashery, paper, garlic and tar. In 1439–40 Henry Baron concentrated on fish with 74% of his 33 transactions. But in 1430–1 he had been much more widely active with extensive wine sales: 38% fish and 37% wine. By contrast Robert Newman, mercer, traded in a variety of spices, wax, fruit, spice and resin, but no fish, wine or woad.

Among their successors were men whose horizons were clearly large-scale and that stretched beyond the city. William Boket was the dominant trader in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, with a range of goods from fish and iron, dyestuffs, oil, wine, spices, and goods, like teasels, for the cloth industry, and isolated miscellaneous goods such as barrels and skins. Large groups of carts went in his name. He traded beyond Salisbury, to Kidderminster, Wareham, Ringwood, Andover, Winchester and Bosham.[24] His last appearance in the brokage books was in October 1491 as a freeman of London (28 2r10). By then his and his widow's trade was entirely in large quantities of wine (28 36v9). Richard Charite operated on a smaller scale. He was active from 1461–92, with a peak of 56 carts in 1478 when he imported salt, wine, fish, soap, wool, cork, resin, woad and alum.

Figure 6.8: William Swayne's chapel in St Thomas' Church, Salisbury. As part of the rebuilding, Halle's greatest rival helped extend and rebuild this church.

'At the end of the century and the beginning of the sixteenth century there flourished the last generation of the Salisbury merchants' (Ramsay).[25] Richard Bartelmew was active in 1477–8, but became more important in the 1490s. Thus in 1491–2 he brought in woad, madder, alum, fruit, raisins, almonds, oil, wine, hops, starch flour, soap, linen cloth, iron, pot and jugs. His reach extended to Winchester where he supplied wax in the three successive years 1492–6.[26] In 1487–8 he traded extensively through Poole, exporting cloth and lead and importing canvas, oil and madder.[27] Thomas Coke was a mercer and merchant, as well as a contemporary of Bartelmew, with extensive trade in 1491–4. In 1492 this mainly composed dyestuffs (alum, woad and madder) and wine, but also included fruit, raisins, pots and jugs, rice, hops, fruit, tin, soap, oil, tar, hops, iron and tennis balls. He was active in Poole in 1487–8, exporting cloth and importing canvas, linen cloth and wax.[28] In 1510 he shipped through Southampton Flanders carpet, glassware, pouch rings, quills or feathers, tin and wine.[29] William Webbe traded on a smaller scale in the 1490s. In 1491–2 his goods ranged from woad, alum, soap, and linen cloth to steel, fruit and tennis balls. In 1509–10 his shipping included bellows, canvas, glassware, haberdashery, lath nails, pressing boards, sugar and tin. He had also traded through Poole in 1487–8 importing linen cloth and canvas and exporting cloth.[30] His son continued his trading activities, having previously traded as an assistant at the Merchant Adventurers' Synoxon mart. The year after his father's death in 1523, he was one of the richest men in the city. In 1527–8 his Southampton trade included wine, woad, canvas, tin, herring, oil,

glass, dry-wares.[31] Thomas Chaffyn traded extensively in wine which at his peak in 1527–8 constituted almost two-thirds of his transactions. His Southampton trade was much less in 1538–9 and he possessed only one entry in 1539–40.[32]

As befitted their financial pre-eminence, these figures played a prominent role in the politics and government of the city. Halle, Swayne, Easton, Boket, Bartholomew and Webbe were all mayors. The city's general entry books reveal their political and governmental roles in a variety of positions.[33]

The Activities of Outsiders. Londoners and the Southampton Merchants

Among the outsiders who traded with Salisbury were a group of London merchants.[34] This was particularly the case at the beginning of the period when their activities were dominated by the trade in woad. In 1430–1 there were 46 such entries of which 38 were for woad and 3 for madder. Their presence was less apparent in 1448–63, much less thereafter, and rare in the sixteenth century. The one exception was 1492 with 18 entries, when it was distorted by William and Scholastica Boket, who are best regarded as a Salisbury family.

Unlike the Londoners, Southampton merchants remained active in the Salisbury trade throughout the period. The varied nature of these merchants emerges in four early examples. Richard Bele in 1430–40 and Simon Patrik in 1447–8 concentrated almost exclusively on fish, especially herring, and together with John Daubney handled almost half the fish transactions entering Salisbury in 1447–8.[35] Robert Ailward and Walter Fetplace both focused on Salisbury, yet ranged more widely in places and goods.[36] The Salisbury activities of such Southampton merchants continued with Thomas Beckyngham (1538–40) and William Jurden (1538–9). Both concentrated on fish, but ranged more widely, into wine, woad, prunes, hops, raisins, salt, vinegar, glass and iron. Thomas evidently operated on an extensive scale, Salisbury being his principal place of trade.[37] By contrast, the specialist wine trade was later represented by Nicholas Sedgwick, of Southampton and Romsey, who commissioned 30 carts in 1539–40, all for wine.[38]

The City and the Cloth Industry[39]

At the heart of the prosperity of the Southampton–Salisbury trade lay the cloth industry, whose fortunes are discussed more fully elsewhere.[40] Salisbury was the capital of this industry and received much cloth for marketing. Cloth taken to Southampton from Salisbury was exchanged for goods coming into the port. The large-scale nature of Italian exports meant that much cloth was also bought and collected in London and then brought down to Southampton. This is made clear by the brokage books, although these are singularly unhelpful in

quantifying this inward trade. No more helpful is the evidence of cloth marketing provided by the aulnage accounts, a tax on cloth that was marketed. The only such Salisbury account for the period of the brokage books is for 1466–7.[41] It contains a series of names that can be linked with other evidence and therefore should not be treated as a fabrication. It is thus unclear how much cloth was sent and aulnaged at Blackwell Hall in London, or what proportion of aulnaged cloth went to the capital and what proportion to Southampton. Moreover this account falls within a period of recession. It is nevertheless important to compare the aulnage evidence with that of the brokage books that surround it (1461–3 and 1477–8). Earlier accounts from around 1400 indicate how an individual's aulnage assessment might fluctuate considerably from year to year.[42] It is likely that the balance between the direct trade and that sent via London also varied.

While the aulnage account provides a list of names many of which crop up in other Salisbury documents or the brokage books, attention here is focused on the more important of the larger traders in cloth. At the head of the list of the ten largest cloth marketers was William Swayne, one of the principal mercantile leaders of the city. Cloth was merely part of his much wider portfolio. Others in this category, although probably a slightly lesser scale, included William Hore, or his father,[43] a prominent merchant in the 1440s and in 1441 steward of one of the leading merchant guilds.[44] William appears more active in the 1440s than the 1460s. He traded in woad, black soap, wine in 1439–48 and alum, madder, soap, raisins, and bowstaves. Of his four entries in 1461–2, only one consignment of woad had any connection with the cloth industry. William Taverner was principally involved in the import of wine and woad in exchange for his cloth, with 40 carts in 1462 and 12 in 1463.[45] John Vyse probably concentrated on cloth, at least enough for him to be described as draper as opposed to John Vyse vintner. Andrew Corner, second in the scale of his activities in the aulnage account, seems little involved in the Southampton trade, with only one transaction in alum in 1477–8 (22.34r5). He was nevertheless a citizen, being a member of convocation in 1468 and 1470, and presumably focused his cloth activities on the trade through London. From the more craft elements came Henry Weaver who was a fuller and shearer. Among the mid ranking or lesser cloth traders were two weavers and a tailor. Most cloths were the full broad cloth, with a few kersies and a larger number of the smaller dozens. A few people seem to have concentrated on the latter, like William Hore.

	Wine	Fish	Herring	Dyestuff	Woad	Iron
Number	1713	1272	864	1214.5	789	219
Total	6084	2449.5	2270	4560	3222	834
% of total	28.2	51.9	38.1	26.6	24.5	26.3

Figure 6.9: Salisbury's trade (by carts).

Salisbury was a centre of the dyeing trade. Of the three main commodities, woad was by far the most important. Alum, a mordant rather than a dye, was imported in the 1440s, but much less in the 1460s and virtually nothing thereafter, as London merchants monopolised the alum trade. Madder showed a similar pattern, but exceptionally approached the earlier levels in 1491–2. Madder's apparently greater importance as a percentage of the Southampton trade probably reflects its different origin in northern Europe, whence it was easily imported through a variety of ports, unlike woad. Woad was largely monopolised by the Italians and was thus funnelled through Southampton, whence it was distributed over much of the country and not just to the port's immediate hinterland

Woad also peaked in the 1440s, dropping sharply between 1460–3, still further by 1477–8 and it remained even lower thereafter (see Fig. 15.4).[46] At its lowest level in 1527–8 and 1538–9, it recovered to the level of the 1490s in 1539–40. The city played a key role in this trade in the 1440s, when well over a fifth of Southampton's overland woad was sent to be marketed there, and increased in percentage terms during the 1490s, due to the dramatically reduced total of woad that left through Southampton.[47] The 1440s saw Salisbury and its merchants, like William Swayne, dominate the region's woad trade. Even Londoners brought large amounts of woad into the city's market. Moreover, in the early part of the period, merchants of other towns such as John Clerke of Exeter, Moses Contarini of Bristol or Thomas Ede of Bruton, sold cloth in Southampton and took woad to Salisbury, rather than to their own town. Salisbury's control of this trade was already weakened by 1462–3, made worse by the dramatic fall in woad imports into Southampton that followed that reflected the end of Genoese domination of the Italian trade. Merchants now showed a greater readiness to carry woad back to their home town rather than sell it on the way at Salisbury. Although recovery occurred in the 1530s, the trade did not even reach the low level of 1492. Salisbury had now lost its hold over this important market.[48] By the 1530s, it was Southampton and Newbury that monopolised and benefitted from the revival of woad imports.

	% of total recorded
Woad (balettes)	18.7
Madder (bales)	44.3
Alum (bales)	21.4
Oil (gallons)	24.3
Black soap (barrels)	81.0

Figure 6.10: Salisbury's percentage of goods for the cloth industry traded

from Southampton.

Among those in the database, the two most extensive dealers in woad were William Boket and William Taverner, each dealing with about 100 balettes a year, although Boket averaged this over three years, while Taverner was active only in a single year.[49] Both operated in the 1460s and in Boket's case until at least 1477–8. Neither achieved comparison with the 551 balettes of William Swayne in 1443–4.[50] A more extensive group were trading on a lesser but substantial scale: William Warwyke (42 balettes), William Easton (40), and William Swayne (39), John Halle (27), John Wyly (28) and Thomas Pakker (31). The decline in the total sum going to Salisbury was reflected in the smaller scale of woad traded by the great merchants of the period: Richard Barthelmew and Thomas Coke (15 each) and Richard Charite (9). But much of the trade was also in the hands of outsiders who brought woad to the market. This involved Londoners, but also those from other cloth towns.

Salisbury was also the major centre for other goods associated with the cloth industry. The most obvious was the industrial black soap. 81% of Southampton's total came to Salisbury. Over half the carts carrying soap (industrial and domestic) from Southampton went to Salisbury. The trade was at its height in the 1440s, but fell to a lower level from 1462 until the early 1490s, and even further in the early sixteenth century. The exception was the incomplete year 1494, when for a single year it returned to the level of the 1440s.[51] Salisbury was also the largest market for oil with 234 carts, compared with 197 for Winchester and 190 for London. The total dropped in the later fifteenth century, although there were noticeable annual fluctuations. The low figure in 1462–3 was part of a general collapse of imported oil through Southampton, and the failure of the Genoese ships to appear with their cargoes. The previous year its trade had been buoyant despite the large and unprecedented rise in trade to London of 128 carts. The reason for the dramatic rise in 1492–3 is unclear. A further fall in the early sixteenth century probably reflected the shift of trade to Antwerp and London.

	1431	1440	1448	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1528	1539	1540
Salisbury	1	31	27	27	1	15	18	67	27		12
Total	3	109	138	195	17	91	71	166	29	7	18

Figure 6.11: Oil carted to Salisbury: Annual figures (in carts).

The Wine Trade[52]

Wine was also imported on a large scale through Southampton, which ranked third only to London and Bristol as a wine importer. It was then sold and distributed in Salisbury and the area around. Much of the trade was also linked to exchanges for cloth. In the same 18 documented years (1439–93), Salisbury was largest recipient from Southampton in 14 years and second largest in the other four.[53] In the 1440s, before the temporary dislocation of

the trade by the loss of English Gascony, 29% of wine sent inland went to Salisbury, before being traded to the towns and households beyond.[54] Salisbury's role as a market for wine for this wider area is reflected in a more detailed analysis of the 1447–8 figures, when 38.2% of wine went to Salisbury and only 2.6% directly to other centres in Wiltshire. Most substantial Salisbury traders, such as Swayne, Aport, and Halle, imported wine, some for household use. In 1447–8, the main specialist importers were Thomas Pakker, Thomas Whitying and Richard Walker, who were among the top seven who in 1440s were responsible for 33% of Salisbury's wine.[55]

Much was brought by men who carried relatively small amounts. In the 1440s, 59 per cent was brought by men who in four years in the 1440s carried less than 10 tuns.[56] Some wine merchants ranged more widely. Thomas Whitynge, although a large-scale importer of wine, was also described as a tanner and weaver.[57] John Souter, although a butcher, ran a substantial side-line in wine. Some were also innkeepers. Clement Furbour, who represented the hostellers' craft in 1441, brought his wine direct from Southampton and probably traded in it as well. Nine journeys were made for him in 1447–8 and seven in 1448–9. All were for wine except for a barrel of white soap in 1448 and woad in 1449.[58] Stephen Hendy leased Pinnock's Inn in 1432–6 (although later becoming a tailor in 1435 and in 1448 warden of the tailors' craft). He imported wine in 1448 and to a lesser extent in 1449.[59] Other innkeepers recorded were those of The Angel, The George, The Greyhound, and The Legge.[60] Much wine was brought by outsiders who sold cloth in Southampton and then brought back the proceeds in wine and other goods for sale in Salisbury.

Southampton merchants, such as Walter Fetplace and Robert Ailward, were responsible for about 11% of all wine to Salisbury in the 1440s. They seem to have been of increasing importance. In 1539–40 Southampton burgesses, or those identified as living there, were responsible for over three-quarters of the wine sent to Salisbury, with key roles being played by Thomas Beckyngham and Nicholas Sedgewick.[61]

Salisbury's wine trade seems to have been more diffuse and less dominated by local merchants than that of Winchester, reflecting the common practice of traders selling cloth and purchasing wine in Southampton and then selling the wine and other goods in the markets of Salisbury for later resale. Again the dominant role of the city's market needs to be emphasised. Towns and villages beyond depended on the city for their provisions, although in the north of the county Salisbury competed with Bristol for the wine trade. Thus the household account of Bishop Mitford for 1406–7 shows that, although he obtained wine for Woodford in south Wiltshire, from Southampton, he supplied Potterne in the centre of the county from Bristol.[62]

The Fish Trade[63]

Fish were another commodity where the city dominated the county market. In the sixteenth century Leland commented on the city's role as a fish market, stating that most types of fishes caught between the Tamar and Southampton were sent to Salisbury. Earlier Salisbury merchants had purchased fish as far off as Exeter.[64] The brokagebooks show that Salisbury imported a wide variety of fish: herring, hake, mullwell, sprats, stockfish, ling, mackerel, oysters, pollock, whiting, eel, congers, Newfoundland fish and salmon. By far and away the greatest imported variety was herring, which by this period were being gutted, salted and stored in barrels of brine.[65] Of the 1,109 carts of fish for which the type of fish is specified,[66] 79% were of different types of herring;[67] hake made up 8.1% and salmon 5.0%. Salisbury dominated the herring trade: 44% of the barrels of herring which went through Southampton were sent to Salisbury. By comparison only 2.4% went directly to other Wiltshire centres (Fig. 14.2). Most of Wiltshire's fish supplies passed through the Salisbury market as no doubt did those of parts of Dorset and Somerset as well. Barrels of fish were traded on. Ultimately fish were sold individually.[68]

Although the amounts of herring varied from year to year, the pattern seems to be of high imports at the start of the period, remaining high into 1460s, although this concealed a decline in 1463, which continued into 1478 (351 to 251 to 309 barrels). Imports decreased by the 1490s, although with some signs of recovery into the early sixteenth century. Salisbury then marketed a smaller proportion of the reduced amount of fish that was imported into Southampton. It is not clear why these developments occurred. One obvious possibility is that they reflected fluctuations between the two major ports that served Salisbury: Southampton for which there are brokage books and Poole for which there is nothing comparable. A growth in the use of Poole could have led to this decline in Southampton's trade. The sixteenth century also saw the sign of a much wider development, in the import of Newfoundland fish.

Salisbury was clearly acting as a marketing centre for the area around. Initially much of the fish trade was in the hands of Salisbury merchants like Henry Baron (1430–1: 48 fish transactions; 1440: 25); Thomas Laurence, (1447–8:12);[69] and John Mason (1447–8: 19). The largest Salisbury fish merchant in 1447–8 was Halle (22 fish transactions), who traded in so much else besides. Salisbury still had some large-scale fish traders in the sixteenth century in William and John Beckyngham.[70] But much of the trade lay in the hands of such Southampton merchants as John Daubney (32 fish transactions) and Richard Bele (48) in 1447–8,[71] and much later Thomas Beckyngham and William Jorden in 1538–40.

Spices and Luxuries[72]

As a major provincial capital with access to the Mediterranean, Salisbury had a much more varied trade than any other town in the brokage books.

Quantities might be small and often irregular, but they were of high value. There were a wide range of specialist manufactures: wainscot and quilts, Genoese pots and Cologne thread, glass and bottles. There were exotic fruits from Spain and the Mediterranean. Finally there were the small but regular and high value spices: almonds, aniseed, cinnamon, cumin, ginger, pepper, cloves and mace, raisins, prunes, figs, dates, brought in by merchants such as John Halle and William Lyghtfote. Salisbury was the major regional spice market, second only to London.[73] Fifteen types of spices were sent from Southampton to Salisbury, compared with 19 to London and 11 to Winchester, 8 to Oxford and to Bristol. Its importance is also reflected in the number of transaction. Salisbury's 341 transactions fell well behind London (972), but far ahead of the 76 for the next largest town of Winchester.

Conclusion

Salisbury was the crucial partner in Southampton's trade. It also dominated the trade of a wide area beyond. Its markets and its merchants linked Southampton and the international world with the consumers of Wiltshire and its surrounding counties. But the brokage books also reflect the changing character of these relationships, as the city's hold over its hinterland diminished. The city prospered, yet its economy was also subject to recession, and these difficulties may also have led to political strife. These were the attacks on the bishop's palace in 1450, the split between the dominant personalities of John Halle and William Swayne, and the city's bitter and failed conflict with the bishop over the control of the city.[74] Meanwhile, the mercantile elite remained dominant in the mayoralty. As its economy evolved and recovered in the 1490s and early sixteenth centuries, Salisbury was probably more closely linked with London than ever before.

Notes

1 Comments based on the database can be referenced from the database itself and the date concerned. Only references to an individual specific reference are given. All years are based on the accounting year and not the calendar year.
2 For numbers, see Coleman, *1443–4*; Harwood, Trade. The 14 years include 1430 (inadequate recording of destinations), 1494 (incomplete year), and 1444 and 1449 (not on the database).
3 On Salisbury in general, see Hare, Salisbury, and Hare, *Prospering Society*.
4 For discussion of the values and limitation of the source see below Ch. 17.
5 *CUHB* i. 579.
6 W. R. Childs, 'The Commercial Shipping of South-Western England in the Later Fifteenth Century', *Mariners Mirror* 83. 3, (1997), 273–78.
7 TNA E 122/120/3.
8 E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade1275–1547* (Oxford 1963); Ruddock, 206–32.
9 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) (RCHM), *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury*i (1980), 24–39; T. Tatton-Brown, 'The

Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury', *WAM* xc (1997), 101–9.

10 RCHM, *Salisbury*, lxii. The survey dates from before the more widespread use of dendrochronology with potential for more exact dating. I am grateful to Edward Roberts for discussing Salisbury's buildings.

11 Hare, Salisbury, 24–5; A. D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England. The Diocese of Salisbury 1200–1550* (Oxford, 1995), 167–8.

12 See below Ch. 10.

13 Coleman, *1443–4*.

14 Waterford has been taken as that in Ireland, but there is also the possibility that it may represent Waterford in Hampshire. (14.36r7).

15 The study of the merchants is based on *The First General Entry Book of the City of Salisbury 1387–1452*, ed. D. R. Carr, Wiltshire Record Society 54 (2001); Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office G22/1/2; *CPR 1429–1509; Calendar of the Close Rolls 1441–1509*.

16 *CPR 1494–1509*, 526.

17 TNA E122/120/3.

18 *CPR 1467–77*, 141.

19 13.28r9, 13.28v1; Harwood, thesis; *CPR 1467*–77, 76.

20 TNA E101/345/9.

21 Calculated from Coleman *1443–4*.

22 On Halle, see Hare, *Prospering Society*, 126, 154–5; Carr 'John Halle', ODNB, 24, 683.

23 He was one of the larger traders in 1440s, Duxbury, thesis, 313, 315.

24 Database; *CPR 1466–77*, 80; *CPR 1477–85*, 295.

25 G. D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industryin the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1943).

26 Harwood, Iron and Wax, 15.

27 TNA E 122/120/3; Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, 18–19; see also *History of Parliament, 1509–58*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, (1982), I 385.

28 *History of Parliament, 1509–1558*, I, 668–9 [Richard Bartholomew].

29 *The Port Book of Southampton 1509–10*, ed. T. B. James, SRSer32, 33 (1990), 22, 34, 38, 112, 141–2, 144, 175, 225.

30 *History of Parliament*, 1509–58, II, 568–9 [Coke, Thomas].

31 *Ibid*. II, 566–8, [Webbe, William II].

32 *Ibid*. I, 607–8. [Chaffyn, Thomas I].

33 For lists of mayors see Carr, *General Entry Book;* R. Benson and H. Hatcher, *Old and New Sarum or Salisbury* (London 1843). For the wider activities of such men, see Carr, *General Entry Book, passim;* WSRO G22/1/2. See also D. R. Carr, 'The Problem of the Urban Patriciates: Office Holders in Fifteenth Century Salisbury', *WAM* lxxxiii (1990), 118–35.

34 See above Ch. 6.

35 Duxbury, thesis, 266.

36 *Ibid*. 262, 297, 300, 313; Platt, *Southampton*, 230; B. Carpenter Turner, 'The Brokage Books of Southampton. A Hampshire Merchant and some Aspects of Medieval Transport', *PHFC* 16 (1945), 173–7; Platt, *Southampton*, 238.

37 On their fish trading, see Ch. 14.

38 Born in Andover, he became a Southampton burgess before later being removed from their ranks for not living in the town and died in Romsey in 1539. T. B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400–1600', PhD St Andrews (1977), 130.

39 See also Ch. 15.

40 See Ch. 15.

41 TNA E 101/345/9.

42 A. R. Bridbury, *Medieval English Clothmaking: An Economic Survey* (London 1982),

75.

43 In 1462 there was both a William Hore senior and junior. In 1467 there was still a William Hore senior.

44 The mercers, grocers or drapers, it is not clear which (Carr, *General Entry Book*, 185).

45 He did not trade in 1478, but was still alive with a second mayoralty in 1480–1, serving in convocation until at least 1485 and dying in 1488.

46 See below Ch. 15; Coleman, *1443–4*, p. xxviii.

47 Coleman, *1443–4*, p. xxviii.

48 See below Ch. 15.

49 Average figures have been based on the number of years in the database when the trader figures as dealing with woad,

50 Calculated from Coleman, *1443–4*.

51 See also Ch. 15.

52 See also Ch. 12.

53 Coleman, *1443–44*, xxvi–xxix, 322–7.

54 Calculated from Coleman, *1443–44*; Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers* (2nd edn. London, 1967), 271–244. Using a different set of brokage books, Duxbury gives 25% (Duxbury, thesis, 267).

55 Duxbury, thesis, 271.

56 Duxbury, thesis, 272.

57 Harwood 1447–8.

58 He contributed substantially to royal loans, acted as a member of the city's convocation, as a collector of taxes and as steward of the main merchant guild, or brotherhood, of St George.

59 On the role of innkeepers in trade, see J. Hare, 'Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England (1350–1600)', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), 477–97.

60 See Ch. 12.

61 36 transactions: Salisbury 36, Winchester 3, Alresford 1.

62 Dyer, The Consumer and the Market', 259; see also Ch. 12.

63 See also Ch. 14.

64 Leland, *Itinerary*, 492, M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995), 313, 318.

65 M. Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', *EcHR* 53 (2000), 449–50.

66 Of the total 1,411 carts, 256 were simply described as fish, of which most (201) were from the three sixteenth century books and the remaining unspecific fish were salted fish (42), small fish (3) and dried fish (1). There seems no reason why these should not have reflected the relative quantities of the specified fish.

67 Most were simply described as herrings, but some are described as white, red, shot, red shot, and full.

68 J. N. Hare, 'Church Building and Urban Prosperity on the Eve of the Reformation: Basingstoke and its Parish Church', *PHFC* 62 (2007), 190.

69 Thomas Lauree 8, Thomas Lawrence 4.

70 See below Ch. 14

71 On Bele and Patrik, see below Ch. 14: 1447–8 Richard Bele 56, Richard Bole 14 carts.

72 See also Ch. 13.

73 See below Ch. 13.

74 J. N. Hare, 'The Wiltshire Risings of 1450: Political and Economic Discontent in Mid-Fifteenth century England', *Southern History* 4 (1982), 21–23; F. Street, 'The Relations of the Bishops and Citizens of Salisbury', *WAM* 39 (1916), 224–57.

CHAPTER 7

SOUTHAMPTON'S TRADING PARTNERS: LONDON

Helen Bradley

The London Route

Fifteenth-century Southampton was cosmopolitan, enjoying substantial immigration of English foreigns as well as aliens.[1] The current orthodoxy is that the Italians, who handled over 80% of overland loads headed for the capital, used Southampton as a gateway to London's luxury market. They also unloaded raw materials for the cloth manufacturers of Wiltshire, Somerset and Gloucestershire, and bought cloth from the western counties, and wool from the Cotswolds. Florentine merchants, whose correspondence network tracked shipping movements throughout Europe and the Middle East, arrived from London to supervise cargoes, otherwise managing their business in Southampton by letter.[2] In June 1400, for example, there were nine Genoese vessels from the Levant in northern waters; some had partially unloaded in England, taking the bulk of their cargo to Flanders, and the Florentines hired two of them to load at Southampton for their return to Italy. The port housed a Genoese colony, and provided a stopover for the Florentine state fleet from 1430. The Venetian galleys preferred London as their English terminus, but sometimes opted to call also at Southampton outward or homebound. Following the London riots of 1456–7, Southampton became the centre for Italian trade in the 1460s.[3] Long-haul vessels putting in at Southampton connected with carts which serviced their trade, sometimes apparently pre-arranged,[4] just as Italian shipping at Caffa and Tana linked with boats from the Russian steppes and caravans from the Far East.[5]

London's concentration of wholesalers and wealthy households offered a rich market for high-end products. During 1406–7, over 40% of the bishop of Salisbury's spending was done in London, his purchases being taken by cart back to Wiltshire. By 1520 London boasted some 75 town houses occupied by ecclesiastical and lay aristocracy, as well as inns frequented by the gentry.[6]

London's trade contributed a substantial chunk of the Bargate revenues which supported Southampton's civic budget.[7]

But were the outbound and inbound routes equally important? About a quarter of all outgoing carts exited directly to London,[8] contributing just over a quarter of total pontage. These same carts produced half of the total brokage paid on goods leaving the town.

Incoming carts from London, as from everywhere else, are under-recorded, yet London still accounted for more than a fifth of incoming vehicles, raising the major part of London's inbound pontage, again more than a quarter of the whole. The yield from brokage was nearer three quarters of the total.

Outbound or inbound, the London route was important, but the inbound revenues were a bigger slice of the smaller recorded cake. In cash terms the outbound route was the undeniable money-spinner for the town. Which merchants were the source of these revenues? What commodities offered a satisfactory return on their investment?

Outbound and Inbound	Total In pence (d)	To and from London in pence (d)	London %
Brokage	76,260	41,225	54.1
Pontage	26,905	7,424	27.6

Figure 7.1: Revenues on the London route 1430–1540: Outbound and Inbound.

Route outbound	Total in pence (d.)	To London in pence (d)	London %
Number of carts	17,142.5	4,186	24.4
Brokage, d.	63,610	32,244	50.7
Pontage, d.	19,414	5,226	27

Figure 7.2: Carts and revenues on the London route 1430–1540: Outbound to London.

Route inbound	Total in pence (d)	From London in pence (d)	London %
Number of carts	5,182.5	1,104	21.3
Brokage, d.	12,650	8,981	71
Pontage, d.	7,491	2,198	29.3

Figure 7.3: Carts and revenues on the London route 1430–1540: Inbound.

Merchants

Outbound ownership of the goods sent to London was well-documented and was dominated by Londoners and Italians. These two groups and how they used the route are examined in turn.

Who was a Londoner?

Merchants 'of London' were not necessarily native to London. Many were English foreigns, like William Boket (mayor Salisbury 1483, 1484, died 1491) who started his working life in a provincial town, taking citizenship in the capital later in his career. Other Londoners were not native to England, such as the Steelyard merchants Herman Rynke and Arnold Wambolde, and Italians like Gerard Canyson (Gherardo Canigiani) and John Manwyche (Giovanni Mannucci). Alien-born Londoners are excluded from the figures to separate the trade of English Londoners from the rest.

Among English-born Londoners, further problems of identification arose from the brokers' records. Few descriptions were as meticulous as that for Robert Halle, who lived in Milk Street in 1462–3 (14.71r10). Inevitably, a few individuals shared a common name, such as Thomas Coke/Cook. But some Londoners with distinctive names were not always described as 'of London', like John Dowgo (the Cornishman John Dogowe, Pewterers' Company warden 1460)[9] and the grocer Nicholas Wyfolde (mayor 1450). Civic status and trade also shifted. Aldermanic rank was noted for the draper John Lambert (sheriff 1551) and grocer Richard Lee (mayor 1460, 1469), but the brokage books feature at least 20 others who at some stage served their wards. The trades of 57 Londoners were recorded,[10] but some were unknown to the corresponding London livery: 'drapers' like Richard Frawnceyse, Richard Rawlyne and Nicholas Vyoll (28.36v5; 14.34v3, v6, v10, 35r1, v12, 36r3; 14.76r3, r10, v1, v2) were not Drapers' Company members.[11] However, company membership was a socio-economic marker for position in the civic hierarchy rather than an occupational description, so these merchants could follow the trade without belonging to its guild. The brokers' hearing and spelling was inconsistent.[12] Even for an apparently simple category like Londoners, some adjustment was necessary after data sorting.

Of all traders, inbound and outbound, there were about 250 English-born Londoners, almost half described as freemen or equivalent.[13] Some, like Dowgo and the tailor Nicholas Nynes (sheriff 1502), showed greater engagement in the trade than others. John Somerton, William Kerver and John Fetplace served as customs officials at Southampton. Some were overseas merchants, who featured in the particulars of account for Southampton custom as well as in the brokage books.[14]

How did Londoners use the route?

Londoners trading overland through Southampton might be expected to put their goods directly onto carts for London, and the broker had a system for recording it. Payment of 'custom at sea' marked out overseas traders who retained ownership of their merchandise between the port and the Bargate. The grocer Edmund Cockerell (exchequer, clerk of the pells 1555, Southampton freeman 1559) imported Vitry canvas during 1538–40, sending 16 half-fardels to London in 1538–9 without paying custom at sea (37.33v1), although he did pay on 18 half-fardels sent to Salisbury (37.83v4).[15] While it is rare to find such a match between customs particulars and brokage books, few 'custom at sea' payments were made by Londoners. It seems probable that most Londoners were not sending their imports at once through the Bargate, but stored them for later sale, and/or traded locally.[16] The grocer John Crosby (sheriff 1470), for example, imported pepper, saffron, satin and damask during 1463–5,[17] but sent mostly soap overland to London. He paid custom at sea on soap only twice (14.4v9, 5v3), sending out nine more consignments (13.71v13, 71v9, 73v3, 86v3, 86v6, 89r9, 14.5v1, 5v4, 5v8) probably bought in Southampton with the proceeds from his own imports. As local custom was due at the Bargate for purchases made within the town, payments should identify men trading in Southampton, but Crosby and other Londoners paid none because London's charter ensured exemption. The London route accounted for only 8.2% of local custom on goods outbound and 5.8% inbound.[18] The majority of Londoners like other Englishmen did not pay custom at sea, were exempted from local custom, and traded within the town.[19] Some may have transacted their business in person. Londoners like Richard Lee, who fined with the Grocers' Company for attendance at the fairs of Oxford, Salisbury and Winchester, could easily combine these with a trip to Southampton. Others, like the mercer Nicholas Ailwyn (mayor 1499) and John Hosier, used English agents.[20]

Who was an Italian?

Ostensibly a simple category, there are again problems of identification and duplication. 'Lombard' did not always mean Italian, although it might do. Moreover, the word does not distinguish individuals.[21] Carrack-men and galleymen, too, were generic and might be Majorcan, Catalan, Portuguese or Ragusan (like those interred at North Stonham), being no more reliably Italian than the Lombards.

The brokage books sometimes give detailed information: Cristoforo di Poggio was a tenant of the bishop of Winchester in 1439–40 (3.11r3). Italians were not always described by city of origin. Their names were often misheard. Some Italians were long-term local residents, like the Genoese Edoardo Cattaneo, a taxpayer in Southampton between 1449 and 1463. The Florentine Paolo Morelli lived there for over 25 years, and the Venetian Philip Syne

(Filippo Cini) was resident in the mid-1460s, when he complained about a false debt action brought by the Winchester merchant William Grenam (see 14.8v3).[22] Nicholas de la Bate – probably the Salviati employee Niccolò da Rabatta – who requested burial at Friars Minor in Southampton, also bequeathed to the church of St John the Baptist and its rector John Godston who, with the Londoner John Crosby, served as English witnesses to his will.[23]

Resident Italians could take citizenship of both Southampton and London. Some took denization, becoming officially Englishmen, like the Venetian Gabriel Corbet (parishioner Holy Rood 1435–63, steward Southampton 1441, 1442, water bailiff Southampton 1443, sheriff Southampton 1453).[24] These settled Italian-born merchants – and their offspring, like Corbet's son Thomas (8.58r9a, 66r3) – were superb intermediaries, well placed to channel the trade of visiting Italians and visiting Londoners alike. Italian expatriates spoke the local language fluently, had extensive contacts, and bridged the gap between the two communities.[25] In 1473 the Florentine-born Canyson interceded in Bruges on behalf of the Mercers' Company for restitution of their goods aboard a captured galley, and gave its companion galley permission to unload at Southampton instead of London.[26] Canyson was a denizen, married to Elizabeth, widow of the mercer John Stokton (mayor 1470). Just as Italians like the Priuli and Pisani were connected by marriage, so were Italian and English families in London, and also in Southampton like the Guidotti and Huttofts.[27]

The economic interests of Englishmen and Italians often overlapped. In the 1430s the Borromei bank held accounts for some 120 Londoners, providing credit transfers at the European fairs. The Salviati did the same during the 1450s. English Londoners like Dowgo personally extended credit to Italians. The Londoner John Warde and Robert Blewet (mayor Southampton 1471) were creditors of the Florentine Francesco Sermattei, patron of the galley *San Matteo*, whom they jointly pursued at law in the Southampton mayor's court in the 1470s.[28] Englishmen took advantage of Italian shipping. Londoners loaded their goods on Venetian galleys, and local men used Genoese carracks at Southampton, including Walter Fetplace (mayor Southampton 1419, 1426, 1432, 1439, 1444), Robert Hovyngham (bailiff Southampton 1433), William Fletcher (steward Southampton 1433) and John Emory (mayor Southampton 1433, 1440).[29] John Walker (mayor Southampton 1466, 1467, 1473, 1483) employed a Genoese merchant. The brokage books document Anglo-Italian business ventures in wine, too.[30]

To separate Italians from Londoners, those born in Italy are here counted as Italian, despite English residence, citizenship or allegiance. Almost 50 individual Italians were named. The origin of some is uncertain, but four were Lucchese, five Florentine, eight Venetian, and 20 Genoese. Of the Genoese, six were Cattanei and 12 members of the Spinola family, representing 36% of Italians on the London route and trading almost throughout the fifteenth

century (1430–1 until 1477–8, and 1430–1 until 1492–3 respectively). Usually two or three men were active in the same year, the most prolific being Edoardo and Gregorio Cattaneo, and Benedetto and Demetrio Spinola. Both families almost invariably paid custom at sea, mostly on imported goods.[31]

How did Italians use the route?

Italians in the Southampton customs particulars, such as Benedetto or Filippo Borromei, and Forese da Rabatta, were not always found in the brokage books, while others such as Canyson and Lorenzo Bonvisi appeared in both sources.[32] Italians trading at Southampton struck bargains with local men and merchants from Exeter, Winchester, Salisbury, Alton as well as Hull, Newcastle, and Coventry.[33] And so like Londoners, the merchandise Italians sent through the Bargate did not always reflect their goods at the quay. Some of Lorenzo Bonvisi's cargoes, like the alum he shipped from Piombino in 1498, went direct to London where he lived. His imports at Southampton in 1491–3 included nutmeg, mace, incense and raw silk; he sent wine non-specific to London in 1492–3 (29.19r11).[34] Paolo Priuli exported Suffolk straits, kerseys, and Western cloth in 1463–5, but these goods did not figure among his merchandise in the brokage books, and neither did his imports of sweet wine.[35]

The incidence of Florentines was thin, given that Southampton was a regular call for their fleet. Imports direct from their state galleys were negligible in England. Edward IV complained to the fleet captain in 1465 about customs revenues lost due to their failure to offload.[36] The agent Paolo Morelli had little overland business in the 1430s. Other options were available. Before the advent of the state fleet, Florentine merchants used Genoese shipping at Southampton – including Morelli's predecessor Bartolomeo Marmora, and the London agents for Francesco di Marco Datini (*the merchant of Prato*).[37] As part of their Southampton operation, the Genoese transhipped to English boats off Calshot (Calchesworde), ferrying goods round to London; the Southampton customs collectors notified their London colleagues of alien payments on transhipment. In 1426–7, the Genoese hired local vessels belonging to John Emory, William Nicholl (mayor Southampton 1411, 1417, 1422, 1427) and Walter Fetplace. Morelli transferred woad, alum and almonds from the Genoese Simone Cattaneo's carrack to a London-bound crayer. He may have handled other goods by the same method.[38] Only heavy, low-value Italian goods arrived by water from Southampton, but the Venetian transhipment criterion was overall weight of merchandise consigned for the destination, transferring cargo under 30 thousand weight (10 cwt) from their galleys to local boats.[39] In February 1441, the Venetian Corner-Contarini household in London received malmsey, originally from Southampton and offered for sale there before the remainder was ferried to Sandwich and then London.[40] Italian overland trade to London

sometimes represented a fraction of their total business.

Commodities Inbound and Outbound

Basics like fish seldom found space on carts for London. Long-distance carting needed commodities to sell readily at a price which justified the cost, which meant high value relative to weight and buoyant demand. Merchants using the London route were arbitrageurs, whose profits lay in the price differential between markets.[41] Italian cargoes of spices, dyes, luxury fabrics and exotic fruit were prime candidates for the London route, and other sources support this deduction. London households of the Marcanova, Contarini and Corner families received such goods from Southampton during the early 1440s.[42]

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of different products on the route, because goods were not weighed at the Bargate. Packaging was not standardised, and volume varied according to the product. Bales of madder were not comparable with bales of almonds, or butts of currants and tuns of wine; bags of sulphur might be small enough to send with a courier.[43] A better indicator was the frequency with which products were loaded onto carts. Cloth and wool were the main items brought into the town, having been collected in London and then dispatched to Southampton for export.[44] Outbound, the range was wider. Alum, tin, wine non-specific and woad were clearly the major commodities, followed by an intermediate band of almonds, cloth, cotton, currants, ginger, fruit, oil, pepper, and soap non-specific.[45]

Traffic Outbound

Figure 7.4 shows that popular commodities sent to London attracted broad participation by merchants.

The major commodities wine non-specific, tin and woad were traded by approximately 100 merchants each. Alum and cloth, together with intermediate range oil, almonds, and fruit drew a respectable crowd of 30–40 each. Other intermediate goods featured fewer than 20 participants each. Londoners dominated the trade in wine, woad, tin and fruit. More Italians engaged in alum, cloth, oil and almonds, cotton, soap and currants. There was no competition from Londoners in pepper and ginger.

Overall numbers engaged in a trade did not guarantee enjoyment of equal shares in it. Widespread participation may conceal vulnerable markets, dependent upon one or two individuals. What was the balance between Londoners and Italians, and how far was participation genuinely widespread?

Commodity outbound	Total merchants	of whom Londoners	of whom Italians
Major:			
Wine non-specific	136	61	25
Woad	97	39	22
Tin	87	45	3
Alum	39	14	20
Intermediate:			
Cloth non-specific	43	12	17
Oil non-specific	36	10	17
Almonds	34	8	17
Fruit non-specific	33	13	5
Cotton non-specific	16	2	9
Soap non-specific	15	3	8
Currants	13	2	8
Pepper	8	0	7
Ginger	7	0	4

Figure 7.4: Merchants dealing in major and intermediate commodities 1430–1540: Outbound.

a) Major Commodities

i) Alum. Just over 1,500 bales of alum were sent out to only 39 named towns: perhaps because used only for the upper end of the cloth market. Two-thirds (66.6%) went straight to London where it was used by city dyers and tawyers, or filtered out to cloth manufacturers in the neighbouring counties – Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex to the north, and Kent, Sussex and Surrey to the south.[46] Except for the grocer William Tailour (mayor 1468), who sent alum to Winchester (8.11v4, 13r2, 26r3, 72r4), neither Londoners nor Italians distributed to the provinces from Southampton. Few provincials such as John Donne (mayor Southampton 1461) and Thomas Huttoft (mayor Southampton 1525, 1534) gained a foothold in the London trade.

About a third of the merchants on the route – 14 – were Londoners, but with ownership of 924 bales they controlled almost the whole trade (87%). Five men had the major share, but of these Stephen Forstere (fishmonger and grocer, mayor 1454) owned more than two-thirds (85.5%) of London-bound

alum.[47] Their peak trading year was 1447–8, thanks to Forstere, and to a lesser extent 1461–2, with little business outside those years. Londoners increased their stake vis-à-vis the Italians in the early 1460s. Although this was after the Genoese loss of Foglia in 1455 and the discovery of replacement Florentine-controlled supplies at Tolfa in 1459, it was before the commercial exploitation of Tolfa alum during 1466–78. The Florentines did not usually offload alum at Southampton, and brought little compared with earlier Genoese imports.[48]

Londoners were outnumbered by 20 Italians, whose trade peaked in 1439–40 and 1447–8. They were nevertheless responsible for relatively little of the trade (138 bales or 13%). The Spinola family controlled most Italian-owned alum; the Florentine Paolo Morelli (trading in 1439–40, before the Tolfa discoveries) had a greater share than the Cattanei. However, there were joint ventures to London between the Cattanei and the Spinola (8.8r9, 95r1). Partnerships were evident among Englishmen on routes to provincial towns too.

Trade was dominated in peak years by a few individuals: Agnolo di Negro and Andrea Spinola in 1439–40, Stephen Forstere and Demetrio Spinola in 1447–8, the Tolleres and the draper Sir Thomas Coke (mayor 1462) in 1461–2. There was hardly any business after 1477–8. In 1508, within a year of denization, the Genoese Giacomo da Ponte obtained a licence with the Londoner William Bokyll to import alum directly to London.[49]

ii) Tin. A total of just over 4,000 pieces went to 10 named locations, of which about nine-tenths (92.7%) headed for London. Business was spread among a number of small to moderate traders in any one year. Here many provincial English merchants could make their mark. A few like Master Webbe (probably William Webbe, assistant for Sinxenmart of the Merchant Adventurers 1523, mayor of Salisbury 1533, 1553) could better their Londoner colleagues.[50] At least four Londoners and one Italian sent tin directly to provincial towns. Although some tin reached Southampton overland and a good deal went out to London by cart, much came by sea and was handled by coastal traffic.[51]

About half of the merchants on the London route – 45 – were Londoners with ownership of 2,561 pieces, two-thirds (68.1%) of the trade. London's renowned pewter production accounted for most of it; additional uses were dyeing and manufacturing artillery.[52] The Londoners' peak year was 1462–3 (with just over a third – 28.1% – of the total recorded tin on the route), followed by 1461–2 and 1527–8. Dowgo took the lion's share (having 22.6% of trade), perhaps supplying fellow London pewterers. Others like Thomas Tomyow, Nicholas Nynes and Master Tregyan formed a second rank. Londoners began to trade in the 1460s, but the 1490s and 1530s saw little overland activity, despite the new staple for metals at Southampton from 1492.[53] The staple's reputation cannot have been improved by complaints

from Londoners – including the pewterer Thomas Curtes – about stock missing from the Southampton tin-house in the 1530s.[54]

Only three Italians participated, with 65 pieces (about a fiftieth (1.7%) of the trade), mostly in the hands of Priuli. Traditionally an Italian export to the east Mediterranean and Levant, their principal trade went out on Venetian galleys from London. A galley purser sent tin to London in 1492–3 (29.13v7, v8), but the tin loaded by Venetians in the capital was often bought from English middlemen such as grocers, or the pewterer Dowgo and his friends.[55] Tin was not a significant part of Italian overland trade from Southampton, despite the prosecution of Giles Palmer by two Venetians over an alleged theft.[56]

iii) Woad. Southampton was a major importer of woad, with just over 23,250 balettes, of which about a third (35.4%) went to London. Like alum, woad was used by dyers in the capital or distributed from there to the provinces: not necessarily just to eastern counties. Although Coventry no longer imported woad from Southampton after 1478, it still needed it and presumably obtained it from London or Bristol. Londoners had broad interests and local contacts in the trade, sending woad to 17 towns and villages outside the capital. Londoners like William Saye, who sent 45 balettes overland to Salisbury in 1447–8 (8.37r7, 65v8, 66r1, 66r2), also distributed by sea. Saye shipped four balettes on the *Clement of Southampton* to Exeter in 1445.[57] Apart from the major centres of Salisbury and Winchester, most focused on one location, like the draper John Brokle (mayor 1433) to Oxford or Henry Braye to Romsey. A few traded to multiple locations: the grocer John Stokys to Evesham and Newbury. Locals like Richard Slean could rival the Londoners.

On the London route, over a third of the traders – 39 – were Londoners, controlling 1,545 balettes, only an eighth (18.8%) of the trade. The biggest owners were John Fetplace, Bartholomew Horewode, John Stokys, Geoffrey Boleyne and Antonio Spinola's agent John Stanysby. Londoners' trade peaked in 1461–2 and 1462–3, falling off almost completely by 1492–3. Occasionally they paid custom in London (14.9v1, 72v5). Some consignments were arranged by John Donne (mayor Southampton 1461; 13.82v2, 83r5, 84r8, 84r9, 82v2), a frequent facilitator for Londoners taking not only woad but alum, tin and soap to London (for instance, John Crosby's soap, 13.86v6, 14.5v3, 5v4, 5v8).

The 22 Italians comprised less than a quarter of the merchants, but with 4,857 balettes, owned over half (58.9%) the quantity traded. Their trade peaked in 1439–40 and 1462–3, yet in 1477–8 Severino Cattaneo was the only Italian. Top names like Gregorio Cattaneo, Syne, and Benedetto and Andrea Spinola traded several times the quantity handled by leading Londoners. In 1447–8, the Cattanei and Spinola shared cargoes (8.8r9, 82v9, 95r1), and Syne arranged a consignment for another Italian (14.70r4).

iv) Wine Non-Specific. Trade was widespread and included lay and

ecclesiastical households. More than 1,100,000 gallons left Southampton for 167 different places. Nine Londoners traded off-route. Apart from Salisbury and Winchester, two confined themselves to one location, John Payn served two and the salter John Dokkyng three different places.[58] Five Italians also traded off-route. Leaving aside Salisbury and Winchester, three traded elsewhere, including Gabriel Corbet who supplied eight locations. Among the provincials trading to London were 11 local men, led by Thomas Dymmok (mayor Southampton 1491, 1492, 1502), who could challenge middle-ranking Londoners. The Basque merchant Martín Ochòa, if still acting in 1462–3 as agent for John Emory, also boosted Southampton's share of the trade.[59] However, on average 35% (ranging from 26% to 44%) of incoming wine was transhipped at Southampton, much for London. The overland route was preferred if the Channel became dangerous, just as the land route from Ragusa to Constantinople was chosen when the voyage was considered perilous.[60]

Almost a quarter (24.2%) of the wine exited on the London route. Great households accounted for 6,712 gallons, at least half being for the king and chancellor. None was for ecclesiastical institutions, suggesting that they bought retail in London.[61] The remaining 259,887 gallons (23.6% of the total trade) represented commercial investment on the route, some by London vintners trading as a group.[62] The 61 Londoners, nearly half the individual merchants on the route, controlled 62,480 gallons, just under a quarter (24%) of the trade. A few were large-scale entrepreneurs, led by Thomas Pole, followed by John Desfford and 'Isak' (probably the draper William Isaak, sheriff 1488).[63] Their peak year was 1462–3, when at least 19 merchants sent over a third (37.3%) of total Londoner-owned wine to the capital.[64] 1477–8 and 1491–2/1492–3 were good years too. Each year approximately a dozen Londoners owned 10–15,000 gallons between them, but the trade was virtually finished after 1492–3.

Twenty-five named Italians, less than a fifth of the merchants on the route, traded nearly 114,000 gallons to London, almost half (43.9%) of the wine.[65] Their peak year was 1492–3, when five major traders were operating, including the Venetians Geronimo Tiepolo and Antonio Baveryn (Baverini). These two occasionally shared cargoes (29.54v2, 55v5, 56v7), and with a third Venetian (57r5). Tiepolo also split a consignment with Guglielmo di Marini (29.62v6). Tiepolo and Baveryn's wine in the early 1490s exceeded that of all other individual Italians between 1430 and 1540. It was largely due to them that almost half (46.2%) of the total commercially-owned wine sent to London in the sample period went out through the Bargate in 1492–3;[66] Tiepolo and Baveryn owned 46.8% of the London trade that year. The Londoner-owned and Italian-owned trade on the route in 1492–3 was not mutually exclusive. Thomas Spark shared consignments (29.52r4) with both the Florentine Christopher Ambrose and (mayor Southampton 1486, 1497) Tiepolo (29.55r8); furthermore, Tiepolo shared with Thomas Dymmok of Southampton (29.57v4).

b) Intermediate Commodities

i) Cloth Non-Specific. Eighty-four out of 128 consignments (65.6%) went on the London route, but the number of cloths was sometimes unspecified or varied. Londoners' consignments ranged from five to 40, and Italians' from two to 57, cloths. Outbound cloth non-specific should have included the Italian silks, damasks and velvets which were not separately listed by the broker.[67] William Boket of Salisbury bought velvet from a Genoese. Although unmentioned in brokage books, he might have found it hard to sell except in London.[68] Five Londoners paid custom at sea, including Henry Braye (Drapers' Company master 1441, royal wardrobe supplier 1443–4).[69] Italians often paid custom at sea on their cloth, much of it owned by Genoese, who were known to import from the Low Countries for finishing at Romsey.[70] Italians also sent cloth to be finished in London.[71] That one Spinola consignment had been sent for packing by order of Peter Jamys (8.60r4) suggests at least some cloth non-specific heading for London was of English manufacture. The prominence of William Est of Overton in the trade in 1527–8 [though only 12 horse loads] also points to the presence of English cloth on the London route.

ii) Cotton. All cotton went to London, except five bales. The Italians controlled over two-thirds of the London trade. Of this, the Cattanei owned half. Moses of London, counted as a Londoner, may well be Moses Contarini (citizen of Bristol, denizen 1461), which would boost the Italian figures further.[72]

iii) Currants. All 126 whole butts went to London, with negligible quantities distributed elsewhere. Of two Londoners in the trade, only Thomas Eyre (with 10 butts in 1491–2) rivalled the Venetian Syne, who traded in 1461–2 and ranked second to the leading Italian, the Venetian Paolo Priuli. Four of the eight named Italians were Venetian, some being small-scale traders. Currants were stock in trade for minor entrepreneurs like Venetian galleymen in London, who sold a few hundredweight at a time. By way of comparison, two Venetian galley patrons in London during 1441–2 shared 23 butts of currants, weighing over 234 cwt.[73]

iv) Fruit Non-Specific. Trade was widespread. Less than a quarter of the total went to London. Londoners had about half of the London trade, mostly operating on a modest scale, although the draper Richard Rawlyne had almost half the Londoners' share of the trade. Italian-owned fruit, about a tenth of trade, was largely handled by the Cattanei (trading in 1447–8). Locals like Peter Jamys and Vincent They (mayor Southampton 1484, 1498) owned more than twice the quantity traded by Italians.

v) Ginger. Virtually all ginger went to London. Trade was sporadic, and largely in Italian hands. Peaking in 1491–2, it was dominated by the

Florentine Ambrose and 'Jeffelyn', who had 86.9% of the trade for 1492–3. Both Jeffelyn di Marini (28.20r12, 21v8) and the Londoner John Jeffelyn (28.11v6) sent fruit to London in 1491–2: 'Jeffelyn' might be either one.

vi) Soap Non-Specific. Trade in soap was general, between a fifth and a quarter of consignments going to London. Quantity cannot be established. The Londoners John Crosby, John Somerton and Harry Tollere controlled over a third of London-bound consignments; Benedetto Spinola dominated the Italian traders. It was due to Crosby and Spinola, in the early 1460s, that soap ranked among the intermediate commodities. Crosby owned 77 butts 12 pipes and Spinola had 36 butts and 20 pipes, although Crosby traded over two years. Almost half of Crosby's soap was arranged by John Donne (mayor Southampton 1461). One or two provincial Englishmen occupied a niche in the trade, including John Croppe (probably the Bridgwater cloth merchant, who also dealt in woad).

vii) Almonds. Although widely distributed, about four-fifths of the almond trade went to the capital. Londoners controlled under a tenth. Only John Warde cut a significant figure. About three-quarters was in Italian hands, the Spinola family owning almost half of the Italian share. Ambrose, a moderate trader among Italians, marginally bested Warde. Ambrose and his fellow Florentine Canyson were the only major Italian traders after 1447–8. Giles Palmer of Southampton, who also dealt in tin and woad with one of the Spinola, had his foot on the bottom rung of the ladder.[74]

viii) Oil Non-Specific. About a third of the oil trade went to London, Londoners owning about a quarter of goods on the route. Thomas Clarell held over half the Londoners' share, outdistancing his colleagues and trading in one year. Italians had about three-quarters of the trade, dominated by Demetrio Spinola and Ralph Lomellini, although overall the Spinola family topped the figures with almost 15,000 gallons. Vincent Pytellysdene (customs collector Southampton 1463–5), presumably the same man as Master Vynsent, managed 1,000 gallons in 1461–2.

ix) Pepper. Almost all of the pepper – seven-eighths of the trade – went to London. Where ownership was known, Italians controlled over half the trade. The Florentine Ambrose was one of the leading merchants. The Venetians Priuli and Syne were minor figures, sending less to London than William Soper (mayor of Southampton 1416, 1419, 1424, keeper of the king's ships 1420–42 and host to Florentine galley patrons).

Trading Strategies

a) Diversification

Merchants trading over longer distances usually dealt in a restricted range of commodities which sustained high demand.[75] They limited their exposure by trading in a few different lines. Thirty-three Londoners spread their risk by concentrating their resources on the major and intermediate ranges. The majority (21 men) focused on two items in the major range, about three-quarters of them choosing from tin, wine non-specific or woad.[76] Did Londoners perhaps aim to secure basics for the cloth industry, like soap non-specific, black soap, alum, oil non-specific and woad? Just one man dealt in three of these products: the draper Thomas Coke (mayor 1402), who combined alum, oil non-specific and woad. Five others chose two items from the range: John Crosby and Harry Tollere (soap and alum), Gregory Chettok and Thomas Gylman (alum and woad), and Thomas Clarell (oil and woad).

b) Dividing the family

Perhaps copying Italian practice, some families domiciled a member in a secondary place of business, like the Guernsey merchant Thomas Fashyone (mayor Southampton 1545), who represented his family on the mainland. As fifteenth century trade centralised southwards, focusing on London and financed from the Westminster staple, some southern towns maintained local prosperity by routing trade through the capital. Among them was Coventry, where families based a member in London.[77] Soper and Payn of Southampton and Boket of Salisbury took up residence in London later in their careers; Payn may have belonged to a Weymouth-based family, already living away at Southampton.[78] John Fetplace of London, trading heavily in woad in 1462–3, was very likely a relative of Walter Fetplace junior (mayor Southampton 1463, 1464). The Scharps, based in London and Salisbury, usually sent goods from Southampton to Salisbury, indulging in one small venture in almonds for the London trade in 1477–8 (22.9r7).

c) Trading off-route

i) *Salisbury*. Some 40 Londoners sent goods to Salisbury, half of them confining their interests solely to the town. Another five sent merchandise to Winchester as well, and 13 more combined Salisbury with the London route. The stock-fishmonger John Feylde (son-in-law of Stephen Forster and sheriff 1451), who sent herring to Salisbury in 1447–8, was the only man except German Lynse to trade to Salisbury, London and Winchester.[79] Salisbury was the regional hub for central southern England.[80] The wine trade, which involved a few Londoners, was dominated by Scholastica Boket, widow of William, who traded independently in 1491–2, sending over 6,500 gallons. Woad attracted most Londoners, with 22 men (including five drapers and four grocers) offering more than 900 balettes to provincial merchants frequenting Salisbury. Woad was probably sold in return for cloth from the western counties, perhaps illustrating Salisbury's role as a clearing house for the textile industry of Wiltshire and Somerset.[81] The Londoners' woad trade from

Southampton peaked in 1439–40 and was finished after 1462–3, reflecting the realignment of international trade towards London.[82]

Sixteen Italians traded to Salisbury. Many were locally-based: Corbet and Paolo Morelli (who both traded to Winchester), Ambrose, Gregorio Cattaneo, and three of the Spinola family. Also involved were the Venetian-born draper John Manwyche and Moses Contarini of Bristol and a number of visiting galleymen. The height of Italian trading in the early 1460s was due to Manwyche and Contarini. Genoese, like Gregorio Cattaneo and the Spinola family, took surprisingly little part. Instead wine accounted for most of the Italian trade, much of it owned by Moses Contarini (over 5,000 gallons) and Ambrose (over 2,500 gallons), while Paolo Morelli and Corbet sent just over 150 gallons of malmsey between them. Like Londoners, the Italians may have picked up western cloth on return.

ii) Winchester. Some 15 Londoners traded to Winchester. Of these five were also trading to Salisbury. Three combined the Winchester trade with the London route, and only John Feylde and German Lynse traded to all three places.[83] Again, most Londoners chose woad, although at 300 balettes their impact was less in Winchester than at Salisbury. Ten men engaged in the trade, the draper Thomas Skot (mayor 1458) leading the field with over 70 balettes, followed by William Tailour and John Skot with nearly 50 balettes each. The London drapers John Brokle (mayor 1433) and John Gedney (mayor 1427, 1447) participated, as did the tailor William Langwith, having peaked in 1447–8 (later than at Salisbury). After 1462–3 the Londoners' woad trade with Winchester was over.

Only four individual Italians traded to Winchester, together dominating alien trade to the town, but much of their activity was confined to the 1430s. Three of them – Corbet, Gherardo Galganetti and Morelli – were Southampton residents, who also traded to Salisbury. Only Galganetti sent woad to Winchester, in small quantity; like the others his trade was principally wine. Mostly it was wine non-specific, although Corbet also supplied malmsey and rumney (126 gallons of each) and Morelli sweet wine (158 gallons). The proposal to relocate London's Italian colonies to Winchester after the riots of 1456–7 seems in this context an unlikely one. Salisbury attracted more Italians, and more Londoners, and had primary links with London.[84] Winchester was indeed closer to the Italians' new principal port at Southampton, and far enough from their troubled markets in London. Until 1447 it was the see (though not the normal residence) of Cardinal Beaufort, whose loans to the government were repaid from Italian customs revenue at Southampton;[85] Winchester provided a staging post on the direct route, and perhaps informal access to England's central administration.

iii) *Other locations*. Outside the 'magic triangle' delimited by Salisbury, Winchester and London, 35 Londoners traded directly to provincial towns. Their merchandise was mostly woad, followed by wine non-specific and then

tin, with limited interest in other items.

Only four Italians traded outside the triangle. Morelli sent canvas to Burford (3.132r6), probably for packing wool, and Edoardo Cattaneo took 14 cloths to Romsey to correct weaving faults (8.82r3), providing scant evidence for known Italian involvement in either activity.[86] The most prolific was Corbet, who sent wines to Alton, Bristol, Hartfordbridge, Oxford, Stockbridge and Wells, and had become an Englishman in 1431.

Summary: Traffic Outbound

The dominance of Italians in areas such as almonds, oil, cotton, ginger, pepper and woad is no surprise. The Londoners' achievement in alum, tin and fruit, along with a creditable share of woad and wine, is less expected. Their success may be partly explained by the charges on alien-owned goods travelling overland, including scavage (a custom on imported goods brought to London from elsewhere in England by aliens). In the 1430s, as part of a running battle, the Genoese particularly complained of scavage levied on the overland route from Southampton by the London sheriffs.[87] The Italians might avoid the burden of these charges by selling to Englishmen at Southampton, where Londoners found it profitable to buy. The Mediterranean goods the Italians sent by cart to London may sometimes have represented their unsold local surplus.

Although luxuries should have gone in bulk to Italian households in London, there were small amounts on the route. Transhipment is unlikely to have accounted for these Italian-owned luxuries. The London sheriffs were particularly keen to reap scavage on the overland route because it handled the lightest, most valuable goods.[88] Moreover, the Florentine galleys came to Southampton almost empty and ready to load English exports. The Venetian galleys too brought few luxuries into Southampton; Jeronimo Dandalo, for instance, unloaded one bale of pepper at Southampton in 1437–9, marketing 45 bales in London in 1440–1.[89] Instead the Florentine and Venetian galleys took their northbound cargoes principally to Flanders; so did Genoese shipping, after a partial offload at Southampton.[90]

Southampton merchants, obviously less wealthy entrepreneurs, did send goods on the London route.[91] Just over 20 of them appeared in the brokage books and Soper, Giles Palmer and Dymmok, for instance, could rival their Londoner colleagues. Others skimmed profit from the import trade locally, hiring out coasting vessels to the Italians, or buying for resale in the south-west; as well as renting out his boat to the Genoese, for example, Walter Fetplace redistributed Mediterranean imports through Exeter, selling malmsey and silks to an Ottery St Mary merchant in 1440.[92] Successful provincials, like John Payn and the Salisbury merchant William Boket, became Londoners at the peak of their careers, and so did provincial Italians like Antonio Spinola. Many Londoners first built their businesses in the provinces, and

London's spectacular economic growth was primarily due to immigrant enterprise, both English and alien.

Few Londoners, like John Crosby and William Wodehowse, imported on galleys and carracks at Southampton. The majority bought into the trade through middlemen within the town.[93] Better-off Londoners spread their risk, dealing in multiple commodities or with multiple locations, usually selecting popular products like woad and alternative distribution centres such as Salisbury to achieve reliable results. However, widespread activity concealed dependence upon a few heavy traders. Most Londoners and Italians appeared on the route during just one year. Few Londoners traded in successive years – among them John Dowgo (tin), John Stokys (woad), Thomas Eyre (wine non-specific) – and only some Italians did so. Hardly any were active on the route in consecutive decades. The only Londoner was Master Webbe, trading tin in 1527–8 and 1538–9. Among Italians, only Genoese and Florentine local agents reappeared–Spinola, Cattaneo, Morelli and Ambrose – sending out a variety of goods for their clients. The London route was used differently: by Londoners briefly for in-and-out heavy trading, and by Southampton-resident Italian agents in the longer term.

Traffic Inbound

Merchandise should have flooded into Southampton, both for direct export and for sale to exporters picking up last-minute cargoes. Instead, the brokage books reveal light inbound trade, lacking ownership details partly because local custom on exports was charged and noted at the port rather than at the Bargate. Of the recorded names on the London route, only two owners were Londoners – John Hewlyn (8.2r5) and John Kynge (13.61r9) – and five Italian (two Venetians, three Genoese). Yet exports from Southampton were so important that the Florentine fleet stopped at Calshot in 1429–30 on its way to Flanders, to check on Morelli's preparations for the return voyage.[94]

a) Wool

Wool was a key Italian export in the early fifteenth century, and alien-owned exports from Southampton were consistently higher than that of denizens.[95] When the Florentine galleys called unexpectedly at London in 1428–9, Italian merchants ready to load wool at Southampton used Genoese shipping instead, and in 1439 the Florentine wool guild took corporate charge of the voyage.[96] The Italian trade should have consisted of high quality wools from Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. The Venetian Lorenzo Marcanova bought from religious institutions there in the 1440s, as did the Florentine Salviati during 1448–51. Some Salviati purchases were made by Tommaso Alberti of Southampton – perhaps Thomas Alberte who sent merchandise to London in 1447–8 (8.36r3). Both the Salviati and the Medici agent Canyson bought direct from Cotswold middlemen too.[97] Florentine agents usually rode out to

fill orders at the summer Cotswold fairs, covered by cash advances from Italy. Their paperwork for transit to Southampton, where it was re-packed for export, itemised expenses including local custom, pontage and boat hire.[98] Bartolomeo Marmora and Paolo Morelli, Florentine agents at Southampton, rented the West Hall with two woolhouses and two large cellars for storage.[99] But the only inbound Italian-owned wool in the brokage books, belonging to Ambrose, came from Grantham in Lincolnshire (28.45r2).

Burford, Cirencester, Gloucester and Oxford had little direct business with Southampton, which received most of its wool from London. The Thames valley provided an easy alternative outlet for Cotswold wool through the capital to Calais, and denizen exports from London were consistently higher than those of aliens. Conversely at Southampton alien exports were consistently higher than those of denizens, and Italian merchants had sent wool from London to Southampton by cart since at least 1307.[100] Although no Londoners owned inbound wool, they were active exporters to Italy. As early as 1413, the mercer and stapler William Waldern (mayor 1412, 1422) and his associates held letters of marque worth £24,000 in respect of wool seized at Genoa plus £10,000 costs. Soper, who exported 130 sacks of wool to Pisa in 1415, petitioned to export 108 sacks in 1424 and was living in London by 1438.[101] The accounts of the mercer William Cantelowe (sheriff 1448) for wool jointly owned with the Salviati in 1450–1 and exported from Southampton to Pisa, were kept in Anglo-Italian by Cantelowe's English agent in Florence. During 1491–3, the Londoners Thomas Wyndyt (mercer, sheriff 1497), Hugh Clopton (mercer, mayor 1491), Christopher Hawes (mercer, sheriff 1503), John Hosier and Nicholas Ailwyn exported more than 400 sacks from Southampton.[102] The opening of Pisa to English shipping in 1465, and its development as a staple port by 1490, should have boosted English activity at Southampton.

Burford, which held the first of the annual Cotswold wool fairs, was the source of only 15 cartloads coming into Southampton. Two Burford men sent their wool out to Burford (8.48v2, 8.85r3), and at three sacks this probably represented the unsold remainder of a consignment originally brought into Southampton to sell for export. One of the Salviati's suppliers, the Cirencester gentleman William Prelate, must have made better sales at Southampton in 1439–40, as he invested in two butts of wine which he sent home (3.49r3).[103] Like the Burford men, Londoners dealt with their unexportable surplus by sending it back, and their names were noted on the outbound route. Thomas Wyndyt exported just over 254 sacks from Southampton in 1491–3 mostly on a Biscayan ship, and the two pokes he sent to London in 1492–3 (29.19r2) were most likely quayside leftovers sent back for clearance.[104] Five other Londoners, including the mercer John Cantelowe in 1439–40, sent wool to London (3.93r1; 28.15v8, 40r3, 40r9; 29.42.v8), probably for the same reason. The draper Nicholas Bowley cleared four sacks to Salisbury in 1477–8, either supplying his provincial cloth manufacturer or for resale there, saving himself

the expense of the London trip (22.14v5).[105] Italians like Demetrio Spinola and Lodovico Bonvisi also sent low-grade wool – perhaps leftovers failing to meet their export standards – up to London (8.96.v2, 28.25v2).

b) Cloth

Cloth non-specific signified heavily among inbound commodities, presumed to be English manufactures for export. Possibly some English cloth may have been made by Italians. The Genoese-born Antonio Spinola brought 160 dozen kerseys from Newbury in 1477–8 (23.2v10), and the Londoner John Stanysby (later his agent) sent woad to London in 1461–2 (13.73r4, r5, r6, r8, r9, v1). From 1483, Spinola was making English cloth himself, resettling 20 alien masters to teach new techniques to English workers.[106] Similarly from 1528, having persuaded Wolsey to curb Venetian wool exports, the Bonvisi directed the production of Coggeshall cloth from their new London home (previously John Crosby's residence) in Bishopsgate Street. Like Spinola's Anglo-Genoese cloth, these Lucchese Coggeshalls were not separately listed by the brokers.[107]

Some changes in point of origin might be expected, particularly from the 1470s when Suffolk kerseys became popular exports and mercer-adventurers took a greater interest in undyed Wiltshire and Somerset cloth.[108] Kerseys were also produced in large quantities in Hampshire and the Thames valley. Cloth from the regional market of Salisbury should have flooded in for export, and inbound sample packs were occasionally recorded (33.18r1, 27r9). Salisbury was the focus for cloth from neighbouring counties, described by the English as 'westerns' and the Italians as '*l'oesti*', which were big business in Constantinople and the Middle East. They were known in Damascus in 1413, Beirut in 1417, and Alexandria in 1424, making an estimated 30% profit in the 1440s and prefiguring the Levant Company trade of the 1580s.'Southamptons' were sold in Damascus in 1416, and in Acre in 1439. As early as 1393, the Florentine Mannini in London planned to send English cloth to Beirut and Damascus, exporting in 1398 from Southampton on Genoese carracks. By 1435, Florence scheduled two state galleys a year for England and Flanders, and one for Constantinople.[109] Venice showed similar interest, having outlets for Essex cloth in Damascus by 1416. The Venetian Andrea Barbarigo (based at Aleppo) used the London Contarini and Marcanova as agents, refinishing English cloth at Venice and exporting westerns to Syria. The Marcanova had their own agents at Constantinople, and their London employee, the Venetian-born draper John Manwyche, exported westerns. Manwyche had long-standing connections in the west of England: in 1442 he purchased 450 cloths direct from John Gawter of Beckington in Somerset. From 1461, Manwyche and his colleagues paid over £180 p.a. to farm the aulnage of Wiltshire and Salisbury with Somerset and Dorset.[110] During this time, he sent woad to Salisbury (13.10r10, 14.42v5, 42v6, 42v8, 43r1, 43r9, 50v1), perhaps partly to fund his cloth purchases.

Actually cloth from Salisbury was dwarfed by an influx from London. No English Londoners and only three Italians owned inbound cloth non-specific (3.10r9, 38v6; 13.57v5).[111] However, most inbound cloth was alien-owned. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the alien cloth export at Southampton was higher than the denizen total.[112] For the last quarter of the century, the London custom particulars (supported by the local port books for Southampton) confirm that aliens sent between 2,500 and 4,500 cloths p.a. by cart from London to Southampton for export.[113] During 1480–1, for example, about 150 carts brought 4,000 cloths from London to Southampton, of which 87.5% was in alien ownership.[114] Few English merchant adventurers operated from Southampton. The famous John Winchcombe of Newbury was the Master Wynskome whose cloth was sent from Newbury in 1539–40 to the West Hall, 'delyvered at the merchants aventure' (38.91r8). Possibly Londoners brought cloth to Southampton to sell on for export, raising the means to purchase the goods they sent to London. The 1512–39 accounts of the mercer Thomas Kytson (sheriff 1533), a kersey dealer in the 1540s, might shed light on the trade; Master Kytson sent tin to London in 1527–8 (33.22v2, 25v8, 56v8), but brokage records do not suggest that he had brought kerseys to Southampton to finance his tin purchase.

Conversely in London the denizen cloth export was well above the alien figure.[115] Merchant Adventurers, meeting at Mercers' Hall, accessed the Antwerp cloth market direct from the capital. In the summer of 1565 just over 350 merchants exported cloth from London, almost 220 (62.9%) of them to Antwerp, and by the mid-sixteenth century a large part of this trade was undyed westerns.[116] Some cloth was sent to London from Southampton, although none identified as westerns. Kerseys, like straits, went to London in Italian and English ownership: Giuliano Carold in 1447–8 (8.12 v2), the grocer John Yonge (mayor 1466) in 1461–2 (13.72v8) and John Sparke in 1477–8 (22.12v8). Some may have gone for specialist finishing with the most expensive dyes. Others may have been unsold or unshipped goods sent to London for clearance, like Master Nycolyne's cloth 'sent backe agayne to lade there' in 1539–40 (38.65v4) or Thomas Osemond of Frome's cloth 'that could not sell here'.[117]

London's significance as the source of Southampton's cloth exports was due to its markets at Blackwell Hall, St Bartholomew's Fair and Westminster Fair. These attracted cloth from all over England, including the western counties. In 1430 the London draper Richard Scharp was a creditor at the Westminster Staple, where he might have dealt in westerns; he had family connections in Salisbury, sending woad there in 1439–40 (3.2v6, 10v5, 10v6, 14v6 *et al*). Similarly an Italian merchants' manual of 1442 referred to Cotswold cloth, which came from London but was made in the Cotswolds.[118] Provincial manufactures came to London for finishing by specialists, who also folded and packed the cloth; during the later fifteenth century the custom on alien cloth exported at Southampton was recorded in London, after

packing.[119] Italians often bought their cloth in London, and certainly Florentines usually packed there. Their paper work itemised carriage from London by cart, including disbursements at Southampton covering town custom, and pontage probably through Bargate.[120]

Summary: Traffic Inbound

England's exports of high grade wools from Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire and popular medium-quality cloth from Wiltshire and Somerset should have found a direct outlet at Southampton and amassed enormous revenues for the civic authorities. The brokage books document relatively little inbound trade, mostly handled through the principal markets in London, with little direct benefit accruing to the town. The broker may not have recorded all inbound trade through the Bargate, because revenues were collected on packing in London and at the port, and none through other gates. Information from the London customs particulars and local port books might usefully supplement the brokage books. Wool and cloth was also occasionally sent from Southampton to London, most likely for clearance and export through the capital's markets.

Conclusion

The brokage books should illustrate traditional patterns of Italian trade, found in individual brokage books: dyes and mordants distributed to central southern cloth manufacturing areas, luxuries to Italian households in London, and wool and cloth arriving to be loaded for Italy from the western counties. Instead the brokage books demonstrate something much more interesting. A good deal of 'Italian' trade was handled by Londoners, investing heavily and short-term in popular commodities. Some spread their risk by trading in a few reliable products, or venturing to Salisbury or Winchester. The route appealed to the aldermanic class. Some (like Richard Lee) could afford the investment; others (like Thomas Curtes) financed their civic career and translation to a prestigious company. Transhipment at Calshot may have been the common exit for Italian goods destined for London, while those landed at Southampton were mainly for sale to Englishmen for redistribution. Coleman argues that few Southampton citizens sent goods through the Bargate: Southampton's prosperity depended upon services to shipping and mariners.[121] But local deals between Londoners and Italians had a considerable unrecorded spin-off for some burgesses.[122] They exported wool on Italian ships, owned coastal vessels ferrying Italian goods to London, and put together their own voyages to the Mediterranean. Consequently Southampton citizens had greater commercial reach than is generally acknowledged. Robert Ayleward had business in Bruges, where he sued a Spanish merchant, and was party to transactions with the Borromei as Robert 'Eluardo', mercer of

Southampton.[123] Perhaps local men built capital by bridging the trading gap between Londoners and aliens.

Other unexpected patterns also emerged. The most popular lines of merchandise sent to London were not luxuries. Instead London raked in dyes and mordants which should have headed west to Salisbury (and probably were redistributed westwards and eastwards), tin which should have been exported at Southampton, and wine for which there was general demand. Wool and cloth came in, not directly from the areas of production, but routed through London. The outbound route to London was used for complex operations, serving as a means of clearance for goods – both Italian imports and English exports – which failed to find a buyer at Southampton. Like other southern towns, which survived by channelling their trade through London, fifteenth-century Southampton used the capital as its primary hub for marketing and sourcing supplies. This pattern was set to change in the sixteenth century.

Changes in London's Trade with Southampton 1430–1540

Overland trade to London peaked repeatedly and sharply in the fifteenth century (particularly in 1447–8, 1461–2,1462–3, 1491–2 and 1492–3), and tailed off in the early sixteenth century.

Trade became more frequent in the 1430s and almost doubled through the later 1440s and early 1460s, coinciding with the expansion of Italian trade in the Middle East and fresh opportunities in Spain.[124] 1477–8 saw business practically halved, but it was flourishing again by the early 1490s. The sixteenth century books showed substantial decline in the 1520s and a headlong plummet in the late 1530s. By 1539–40, total frequency of trade was just over three quarters (78.8%) of that enjoyed in 1430–1, and had collapsed compared with its fifteenth-century peaks. The fall in traffic hit hard at the more lucrative outward leg of the route. The number of carts exiting for London in 1539–40 was just 6.8% of the figure recorded for 1462–3.

Comparing the earliest high point for total business in 1447–8 with the low point in 1539–40 reveals a vast contraction in the range of outbound merchandise. The book for 1539–40 had lost trade entirely in nearly 60 different products.[125] Of the 13 major and intermediate commodities, only tin and cloth non-specific were still sent to London. Newly-introduced commodities – like Vitry canvas and olerons – were in short supply, providing no replacement value. The impoverished outbound overland trade is reflected in mid-sixteenth century Southampton customs particulars. Inbound trade apparently suffered a similar fate, with only two consignments of cloth (38.25r1) among carts loaded with 'stuff' and 'wares'.

Many vanished commodities were Mediterranean imports, as Italian shipping became irregular towards 1500 and eventually disappeared. Italian trade in England had declined in 1420–60 before it shifted to Southampton,

although a lapse in Genoese shipping from the 1460s was compensated by Florentine and Venetian activity.[126] A great many reasons, both Mediteranean and domestic, can be cited. Florentine galleys last called at Southampton in 1478, although the Venetian fleet continued to visit. In 1488 the Venetian state galleys were attacked on their way to Southampton by English ships, being further discouraged in the following year when the king's fleet fired on their flag galley.[127] By 1518 Wolsey noticed that the goods on the Venetian galleys mostly belonged to the Lucchese Bonvisi. The fleet made its last stopover in 1534. Subsequently private Venetian carracks anchored off Thanet to trade with London, supplemented by Ragusan *argosies* with Indian spices from the Levant. In 1562, the 23-year-old Venetian Alessandro Magno enjoyed a trading visit to London, where he made a sketch of St Paul's cathedral for his journal and attended the thriving St Bartholomew's Fair.[128]

Nevertheless, Italian merchants in England soldiered on. Shrinking business at Southampton was therefore only partly due to lack of passages between England and Italy.[129] Italian merchants were still working here, and Southampton men – like the ship owners Harry Huttoft and Robert Raynold, and factor John Cowart – were active in the Mediterranean.[130] Furthermore, many commodities no longer in the brokage books did not depend on Italian shipping: imported citrus, dried fruits and oil from Iberia, while exports like kerseys and straits were in general demand. The metamorphosis at Southampton cannot entirely be explained by dwindling Italian trade. Instead there was a realignment in long-distance trading networks; rocketing English commerce with Europe was handled through London and Antwerp, largely bypassing Southampton.

By 1540 London handled at least 80% of the wool, cloth and other customable goods in England, and the younger generation (like the mercer Thomas Gresham) built their careers in Antwerp.[131] By 1539–40 Londoners and Italians had virtually disappeared from the outbound route. The inbound route was dominated by local men. Sixteenth century Londoners enjoyed Iberian goods delivered direct, city markets selling provincial cloth, and a short crossing to Antwerp for assured sales and a wide range of imports. The Antwerp trade also drew the Italians to London, where they used Iberian carriers. There was no reason for Londoners or Italians to trade at Southampton.

Year	Total carts	Of which outbound carts	Of which inbound carts
1430–1	73	39	34
1439–40	483	339	144
1447 8	728	445	283
1461–2	706	623	83
1462–3	742	670	72
1477 8	409	257	152
1491–2	607.5	484.5	123
1492–3	701	655	46
1493–4	533	435	98
1527 8	165	133	32
1538–9	85	60	25
1539–40	57.5	45.5	12
Total	5,290	4,186	1,104

Figure 7.5: Frequency of trade with London 1430–1540: Outbound and inbound (by carts).

Outbound	Total in pence (d).	Total %
All places	116,911	100
London	40,240	34.4
Salisbury	29,076	24.9
Winchester	3,990	3.4
Other towns/villages	43,605	37.3

Figure 7.6: Total revenues from London, Salisbury and Winchester routes 1430–1540: Outbound.

If the product range contracted at Southampton and business was less frequent, what of the revenues? These are difficult to compare. Not everyone paid local custom, and brokage was charged by distance; only pontage was a flat rate. Nevertheless, all these sources of income can be used to assess the

relative importance of different towns to the revenues of Southampton.

In raw totals, of the revenues to Southampton, from the 'magic triangle' destinations favoured by Londoners and Italians, London produced over a third, Salisbury almost a quarter, while Winchester raised very little. London was the single route which generated most revenue, almost equalling that from all the remaining towns and villages together.

Splitting by type of revenue, the strength of the London contribution was derived particularly from brokage and well supported by pontage, while Salisbury and Winchester – and other towns and villages – produced a better proportion of custom and pontage than of brokage.

Taking a snapshot view from the early 1490s, in some respects London's relative position was improved. The London route contributed particularly high proportions of brokage and pontage in the early 1490s. However, its success was not due to Italian trade. Florentines and Genoese were scarce. The Lucchese Bonvisi, who supplied the great wardrobe with luxury fabrics, sent only a little low-quality wool, madder and wine to London, raising 40d. brokage and 5d. pontage (28.25v2, 29.7r3, 19r11, 23v9). The Italian trade to London depended mainly upon the Venetian Antonio Baveryn. Although still working in England in the 1490s, the Italians were not trading overland from Southampton as they had before, and other alien business provided no replacement value. The yield from the London outbound route was raised from English merchants.[132]

The sixteenth century showed further change. Salisbury was the single most valuable route, and Winchester had comfortably overtaken London in custom and pontage. Moreover, custom and pontage contributed by other towns and villages together easily topped that from the combined London, Salisbury and Winchester routes. Sixteenth century Southampton's primary links were with Salisbury and small towns and villages.[133]

Outbound	Custom d.	Custom %	Brokage d.	Brokage %	Pontage d.	Pontage %
All places	33,887	100.1	63,610	100	19,414	100
London	2,770	8.2	32,244	50.7	5,226	26.9
Salisbury	11,721	34.6	12,649	19.9	4,706	24.2
Winchester	802	2.4	725	1.1	2,463	12.7
Other towns/villages	18,594	54.9	17,992	28.3	7,019	36.2

Figure 7.7: Custom, brokage and pontage from London, Salisbury and Winchester routes 1430–1540: Outbound.

Outbound early 1490s	Custom d.	Custom %	Brokage d.	Brokage %	Pontage d.	Pontage %
All places	4,085	100	17,381	99.9	4,505	100
London	97	2.4	12,158	69.9	1,844	40.9
Salisbury	1,997	48.9	2,437	13.4	936	20.8
Winchester	0	0	14	0.1	432	9.6
Other towns/villages	1,991	48.7	2,872	16.5	1,293	28.7

Figure 7.8: Custom, brokage and pontage from London, Salisbury and Winchester routes in the early 1490s: Outbound.

Outbound 16th century	Custom d.	Custom %	Brokage d.	Brokage %	Pontage d.	Pontage %
All places	4,962	99.9	8,840	100	4,463	100
London	10	0.2	1,828	20.7	314	7
Salisbury	1,544	31.1	3,008	34	1,147	25.7
Winchester	270	5.4	9	0.1	719	16.1
Other towns and villages	3,138	63.2	3,995	45.2	2,283	51.2

Figure 7.9: Custom, brokage and pontage from London, Salisbury and Winchester routes in the sixteenth century: Outbound.

Of the major and intermediate product range on the London route in the sixteenth century, Londoners owned only tin, and the sole Italian revenue was from a case of glass in 1527–8 belonging to Antonio Guidotti (33.8v8). The decimation noticed in the popular commodities range outbound to London was clearly reflected in revenues from the route.

Perhaps most importantly, the brokage books reveal the impact of wider economic change. Rising Spanish and Portuguese trade, using Antwerp as the focus of the Burgundian Low Countries, particularly favoured London, which had a long tradition of trade with Iberia and the Low Countries. Southampton's staple for metals, and its Anglo-Italian voyages to the wool staple at Pisa, could not challenge London's cloth route to the Low Countries. Southampton's burgesses clearly attributed the lack of Italian shipping to Portuguese success in distributing spices from Antwerp:

> 'by Tyme of many yeres past, sithen that Tolowes Woade hath ben usually brought into the Realme, and that the King of Portyngale toke the Trade of Spicis from the Venyzians at Calacowte, fewe or noo suche carreckis, Galeis, ne other shippis have repayred unto your said Towne ….'[134]

The Londoners and Italians, whose business had supported the overland route, disappeared to London, and with them the revenues. Early sixteenth-century Southampton lost overland contact with the primary national hub at London, which dominated the regional networks. The shorter cart trip to Salisbury, a regional hub with its own strong links to London, was used instead by local merchants and became the reduced mainstay of the Bargate revenues, to the loss of both the municipality and the broker.

Notes

1 T. B. James, 'Migration and the Southampton Melting Pot in the Fifteenth Century', *Southern History* 28 (2006), 1–23, esp 11–13, 16.

2 Archivio di Stato di Prato, Fondo Datini 308924, 407474, 313040, 509989, www.datini.archiviodistato.prato.it

3 Fondo Datini 509971, 509972, 509974; Ruddock, 68–70, 106, 206; Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 85; *The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the Reign of Edward IV*, ed. D. B. Quinn and A. A. Ruddock, SRSoc 37, 38 (1937–8), ii.xx–xxi; Cobb, *Port Book 1439–40*, 74 n. 2, 77 n. 3; P. C. Clarke, 'The Commercial Activities of Giovanni Marcanova di Giacomo', in *CittadiniVeneziani del Quattrocento: i due Giovanni Marcanova, ilmercante e l'umanista*, ed. E. Barile, P. C. Clarke and G. Nordio, (Venice 2006), 247–373, esp. 252–3; *CSP Ven* i.30–1 (nos. 96–8).

4 Harwood, Trade, 144; see below Ch. 5.

5 J. C. Hocquet, 'Ships, Sailors and Maritime Activity in Constantinople (1436–1440)', *Journal of European Economic History* 30.3 (2001), 533–67, esp. 548.

6 P. Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community: The Grocers' Company and the Politics and Trade of London 1000–1485* (London 1995), 439–40; D. Keene, 'Changes in London's Economic Hinterland as indicated by Debt Cases in the Court of Common Pleas', in Galloway, 59–81, esp. 74–6; C. M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages. Government and People 1200–1500* (Oxford 2004), 76–83; I. W. Archer, *The History of the Haberdashers' Compan*, (Chichester 1991), 30–1; M. Davies and A. Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (Leeds 2004), 63; C. M. Barron, 'Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Town House in London 1200–1550', *London Journal* 20.1 (1995), 1–16 esp. 1, 6–7, 12; Hare, Salisbury, 9

7 Masschaele, 109.

8 See above Chs. 4, 5.

9 Cobb, *Port Book 1439–40*, index, 52; Coleman, *1443–4*, i.xxxii n2.

10 16 drapers; 16 vintners; 12 grocers; 3 fishmongers; 2 mercers; 2 dyers; 1 pewterer, shearman, founder, cutler, tailor and ironmonger.

11 P. Boyd, *Roll of the Drapers' Company of London* (Croydon 1934). Frawnceyse is probably the clothier Richard Franters (28.39r11).

12 See above Ch. 1.

13 Including the independent widow Scholastica Boket.

14 Of 22 Londoners named in TNA E 122/209/1 (1437–9), 7 were in the brokage books; all 7 listed in E 122/142/2 and E 122/142/3 (1463–5) appeared in both sources, as did 7 of 11 listed in E 122/142/11 (1491–3), and all 4 in E 122/143/11 (1538–40).

15 TNA E 122/143/11 f4v; 'Edmund Cockerell (by 1510–59/60), of London', *House of Commons 1509–58*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, i (London, 1982), 664–5.

16 See above Chs. 4 and 5.

17 TNA E 122/142/2 f22, E 122/142/3 f21v.

18 Cobb, *Port Book 1439–40*, xii; H. S. Cobb, 'Cloth Exports from London and Southampton in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: a Revision', *EcHR* n.s. 31 (1978), 601–9, esp. 608; Coleman, 9–22, esp. 21; 4 out of 116 freemen, and 19 out of 248 described as 'of London', paid local custom (total 23).

19 Ruddock, 144.

20 Nightingale, *Community*, 439; TNA E 122/142/11 ff. 27v, 29.

21 R. de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges* (Cambridge, Mass. 1948), 108, 115, 149–50, 345–6.

22 For Cattaneo, see TNA E 179/173/116, E 179/173/137, E 179/173/133; for Morelli, see Bradley, *Views*, 296; for Syne, TNA C 1/30/67 (1463–7), E 179/173/133. The alien subsidy listed those who stayed for six weeks, so not all were longterm residents.

23 TNA PROB 11/5 PCC 17 Godyn, 1467; G. Holmes, 'Anglo-Florentine Trade in 1451', *EHR* 108 (1993), 371–86, esp. 379.

24 For Spinola, *CPR 1467–77*, 510, *CPR 1485–94* 368, 295, *CPR 1494–1509* 241; for Corbet, Bradley, *Views*, 279; see above Ch. 2.

25 R. de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank 1397–1494* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 320, 326; Ruddock, 159–60; Childs, 'Anglo-Italian Contacts', 71–2; P. Stabel, 'From the Market to the Shop. Retail and Urban Space in Late Medieval Bruges', in

Buyers and Sellers: Retail Circuits and Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. B. Blondé, P. Stabel, J. Stobart and I. Van Damme (Turnhout, Belgium 2006), 79–108, esp. 92.

26 *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company 1453–1527*, ed. L. Lyell and F. D. Watney (Cambridge 1936), 68–75, May 1473; Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 101–2; see also 'Gherardo Canigiani' in *Dizionario Biografico degl iItaliani*, www.treccani.it and *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ix.897; www.oxforddnb.com (odnb/52162)

27 F. C. Lane, 'Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures in the Venetian Republic', *Journal of Economic. History* 4 (1944), 178–96 esp. 181; A. A. Ruddock, 'Antonio Guidotti', *PHFC* 15 (1941–3), 34–42 esp. 35; see also Ruddock, 128.

28 Sutton, *Mercery*, 228–9; *The Ledger of Filippo Borromei & Company of Bruges, 1438*, ed. J. L. Bolton and F. Guidi Bruscoli, www.queenmaryhistoricalresearch.org; Holmes, 'Anglo-Florentine Trade', 382–3; for Dowgo, TNA E 159/235, E 159/236; for Sermattei, TNA C 1/31/80 and Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 99–102, 171–2, 173–4

29 Bradley, *Views*, xxxvi; TNA E 122/184/3 file 3 ff. 6, 7, 7v, 11v, 21, 23–4, 26v–28, 30

30 TNA C 1/64/222, C 1/64/312; see also ch.12; also Ruddock, 203–4, Platt, *Southampton*, 215–6.

31 For the Cattanei, 367 of 369 entries were custom at sea; for the Spinola, 364 of 381 entries; Italians usually paid *per mare* and paid at the Bargate if forwarding for an Englishman, Bunyard, i.xvi.

32 TNA E 122/209/1 ff. 30–31; E 122/142/2 ff. 20, 21v, 22, 23; E 122/142/11 ff. 8, 9, 10, 10v, 17, 17v, 18, 20–21.

33 Bradley, *Views*, 123 (no. 53), 129 (no. 55); Nightingale, *Community*, 437.

34 'Lorenzo Buonvisi', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, www.treccani.it; TNA E 122/142/11 ff. 8, 10–10v, 17.

35 TNA E122/142/3 ff. 3, 4, 23, 26v, 27v.

36 W. B. Watson, 'The Structure of the Florentine Galley Trade with Flanders and England in the Fifteenth Century', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 40 (1962), 317–47, esp. 317–9 and 318 n2; Ruddock, 63–4; Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 136.

37 TNA E 122/139/4, E 122/139/9; E 122/139/6; E 122/139/11.

38 TNA E 122/184/3 file 3 ff. 1v, 2v, 6, 13, and file 4 f. 17 '… *nob(is) in p(ri)ma discarcat(i)one b(e)n(e) &fidel(ite)r p(er) solverunt*', similarly ff. 19, 21. For the location, see file 3 ff. 1v, 2v and the searcher's book ff. 19v–20v, 48. The anchorage was near sandbanks at the end of Calshot Spit, near the castle known to the Florentines as *Calzadores* or *Calge Cesore*, Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 239 n4. For transhipment, see *The Port Books of Southampton, AD 1427–1430*, ed. P. Studer, SRSoc 15 (1913), xix, also Platt, *Southampton*, 157–9; and Ruddock, 110, 144–5.

39 *CLBH* 429–30; *CSP Ven* i.36–7 (no. 120), and see 32 (no. 106).

40 Bradley, *Views*, 96 (no. 45).

41 J. A. Galloway, D. Keene and M. Murphy, 'Fuelling the City: Production and Distribution of Firewood and Fuel in London's Region, 1290–1400', *EcHR* n.s. 49 (1996), 447–472, esp. 450; Masschaele, 124–5.

42 Bradley, *Views*, 16 (no. 8), 19 (no. 10), 36 (no. 16), 91 (no. 43), 96 (no. 45); see also 124 (no. 53), 126–7 (no. 54).

43 See above Technical Foreword; R. E. Zupko, *A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Nineteenth Century* (Wisconsin and London 1968), 12, 28, 175; Fondo Datini 308117.

44 Carts in: cloth 576, wool 362.

45 Carts out: alum 357, tin 601, wine 1,435, woad 903, almonds 122, cloth 82, cotton 166, currants 182, ginger 128, fruit 85, oil 190, pepper 186, soap 88. Cloth, cotton, wine, fruit, oil and soap were non-specific.

46 Ruddock, 53; H. L. Gray, 'The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century', *EHR* 39 (1924), 13–35 esp. 22; Bridbury, *Clothmaking*, 49.

Perhaps also the Thames Valley and Cotswolds.

47 Forstere, who sent 790 bales to London (all in 1447–8), was listed both 'of London' and 'of Salisbury', although he did not pay half-custom. The Londoner, a Somerset man with commercial ties to Bristol, handled crown sales of Genoese alum in 1453, History of Parliament Trust, London, unpubl. art. on Stephen Forstere for 1422–61 section by H. Kleineke. The Trust kindly allowed consultation of this article in draft. For the alum seizure at Southampton 1450, see Nightingale, *Community*, 495. The four remaining men were Thomas Coke (origin not specified, same year), Nicholas Wyfolde, and John and Harry Tollere.

48 Watson, *Florentine Galley Trade*, esp. 317, 318 n1; Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 136–7; R. De Roover, *The Medici Bank: its organisation, management, operations and decline* (New York, 1948), 46–51.

49 *CPR 1494–1509*, 556, 558.

50 'William Webbe II (by 1499–1554) of Salisbury, Wilts.', *House of Commons*, iii. 566.

51 Platt, *Southampton*, 157–9; Coleman, *1443–4*, i.xxxi.

52 J. Hatcher, *English Tin Production and Trade Before 1550* (Oxford 1973) 33–4, 39–40, 41; R. F. Homer, 'Tin, Lead and Pewter', in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. J. Blair and N. Ramsay (London, 1991), 57–80, esp.69–73; *The Port Book of Southampton 1509–10*, ed. T. B. James, SRSer 32 (1990), i.xii.

53 *CPR 1485–94* 383–5; James, *Port Book 1509–10*, i.xiii.

54 TNA C 1/770/9 against Henry 'Wythoft' as mayor of Southampton (presumably Huttoft, mayor 1525, 1534); C 1/922/3; The mayor of the new staple, William Dalton, may be the man of the same name who sent woad to Winchester in 1461–2 (13.81r9).

55 Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 95–6, 98–9, 101; Nightingale, *Community*, 443; Bradley, *Views*, 8 (no. 4).

56 TNA C 1/20/102.

57 Devon Heritage Centre, Exeter Custom Roll 24–25 Henry VI, f.1. A local dyer provided the pledge at Exeter.

58 If he is the same man as John Bokkyng.

59 Southampton merchants had 5% of the overland trade, Duxbury, Thesis, 289; Ochòa was Emory's agent about six years previously, TNA C 1/16/656.

60 Platt, *Southampton*, 159; Duxbury, Thesis, 209–10, 286; E. Barsook, 'The Travels of Bernardo Michelozzi and Bonsignore Bonsignori in the Levant (1497–8)', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 145–97, esp. 146.

61 Similarly religious institutions accounted for only 1% of the coastal trade, Duxbury, thesis, 230.

62 Cf. 4% in Duxbury, thesis, 284.

63 Including Lady Jones, also trading tin and canvas so counted as merchant gentry. After 1492–3, she was the only Londoner trading wine non-specific.

64 Plus the generic group of vintners, 'Fetplace' and 'Woodhowse'; Londoners had 18% of the trade, Duxbury, thesis, 286–7, although the proportion of overland trade was inconsistent, 285.

65 Cf. 28% in Duxbury, thesis, 287–8.

66 Cf. the importance of Morelli, the Cattanei and the Spinola family in the first half of the century, with wide fluctuations in Italian imports, Duxbury, thesis, 129–30, 155–7, 169,181.

67 Coleman, *1443–4*, i.xxxii.

68 TNA C 1/60/92, *c*. 1475–85.

69 Bradley, *Views*, 169.

70 E. B. Fryde, *Studies in Medieval Trade and Finance* (London 1983), XV 353.

71 Coleman, *1443–4*, i.xxxii.

72 *CPR 1461–7*, 41.

73 Bradley, *Views*, 105, see also 109–115 (no. 48).

74 TNA C 1/59/229.
75 Masschaele, 124.
76 Fifteen of twenty-one. Six traded in tin and wine non-specific – Chacombe, Kerver, Lewes, Nynes, Stocker, Jones; five in wine non-specific and woad – Fetplace, Hardeleck, Sawnder, Wodehowse, Payn; four in tin and woad – Boleyne, Chettok, Waver, Dowgo. Of the remaining six trading in alum, three combined with wine non-specific – John Sparke, John Skelton, William Bledlow; two with woad – Thomas Coke, Thomas Gylman; one with tin – Harry Tollere.
77 M. E. Bratchel, 'Regulation and Group-Consciousness in the Later History of London's Italian Merchant Colonies', *Journal of European Economic History* 9 (1980), 585–610, esp. 586–7; 'Thomas Fasshyn (by 1511–57), of Southampton, Hants.', *House of Commons*, ii. 120; R. M. Goddard, 'A North-South Divide: Regional Responses to Recession in Fifteenth-Century England', paper 229-a, D. Leech, 'Coventry: a Case Study Reassessing the Narrative of Late Medieval Crisis and Decline', paper 229-b, International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 1–4 July 2013.
78 'Thomas Payn of Weymouth, Dorset', www.historyofparliamentonline.org.
79 Conservative figures, including only those specified in the brokage books as 'of London'. They assume the identity of German Lynse with German Leche; and that Forster's relative by marriage, the stock-fishmonger John Felde (mentioned in History of Parliament Trust's unpublished article on Stephen Forster for 1422–61 section by Hannes Kleineke), is the John Feylde who dealt in herring at Salisbury.
80 Duxbury, thesis, 267–8.
81 Hare, Salisbury, 3, 7–9.
82 Hare, Salisbury, 11–12, 14; see above Ch. 6.
83 Conservative figures, again, based on those described as 'of London'. They identify William Gayle with William Gaye, and John Kyrkeby with John Kyrby.
84 *CSP Ven* i.84–5 (no. 339); Bridbury, *Clothmaking*, 74; Hare, Salisbury, 8–9.
85 G. A. Holmes, 'The "Libel of English Policy"', *EHR* 76 (1961), 193–216, esp. 203–4.
86 Coleman, *1443–1444*, i xxiii n2, xxvi and see n2; Fryde, *Studies*, XV 353; Coleman, 10.
87 *CLBK* 174; TNA E 101/128/25. The rate included 12d for spices per 4 cwt, saffron ½d per lb and silk 1d per lb. Gilbert Maghfeld's accounts showed payments on behalf of merchants, E 101/509/19 ff. 16v, 48. Scavage had been a bone of contention since the 1390s, see *CLBH* 429–30, *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis Liber Albus*, ed. H. T. Riley (London 1859), 223–6, 230, TNA E 28/4/64, *Rot. Parl*. iii 491, 521, and was resolved in 1455 by a collective annual payment, *CLBK* 367; see also Nightingale, *Community*, 437–8.
88 *CLBH* 429–30.
89 TNA E 122/209/1 f. 7v; Bradley, *Views*, 32 (no. 13).
90 Trade was financed by remittance and exchange, Fryde, *Studies*, XV 350, XVI 349; also Watson, 'Florentine Galley Trade', esp. 322–3; de Roover, *Rise & Decline*, 147, 327; Holmes, 'Florentine Merchants', 207–8; five Genoese and a Venetian *'… anno dischariche alquanto dele spezie e altre mercata(n)tie avevono e cho'resto in Fiandra se ne sono ite …'*, Fondo Datini 509986, see also 509989, 313030, 313041.
91 Coleman, 17–20.
92 DHC M4 Box 1750, Exeter Mayor's Court Roll 18–19 Henry VI, rot. 23v.
93 TNA E 122/142/3 ff. 1v, 21, 21v.
94 Cobb, 'Cloth Exports', 608; Coleman, 16; Giuliano Carold and Syne (Venetian), Gregorio and Edoardo Cattaneo, and Andrea Spinola (Genoese); Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 239.
95 E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade 1275–1547* (Oxford 1963), 131.
96 Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 83–4, 88.
97 Bradley, *Views*, 20 (no. 10); Holmes, 'Anglo-Florentine Trade', 381; De Roover, *Rise &*

Decline, 328; TNA C1/59/69.

98 Fondo Datini 308915, 308916; H. Bradley, 'The Datini Factors in London, 1380–1410', in *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History*, eds. D. J. Clayton, R. G. Davies and P. McNiven (Stroud 1994) 55–79, esp. 59; *'… In Antona abeamo inpacato le nostre lane …'* Fondo Datini 509989, and for expenses 509967, 700706.

99 TNA E 122/184/3 (book of John Pole, searcher) f. 64.

100 Ruddock, 45; Barron, *London*, 89; Carus-Wilson and Coleman, 125, 131.

101 'William Waldern (d. 1424), of London', 'William Soper (d. 1458/9), of Southampton and London', *House of Commons 1386–1421*, ed. J. S. Roskell (London, 1992), iv. 407. 746; BL Vesp FXIII, vol. 1, f. 33 no. 51 (subsequently no. 84), 20 October 1424.

102 Holmes, 'Anglo-Florentine Trade', 371–2, 374; TNA E 122/142/11 ff. 27v–29.

103 Holmes, 'Anglo-Florentine Trade', 381.

104 TNA E 122/142/11 ff. 27v, 28, 28v.

105 Nicholas Bowley of Bridport, dealing in sheepskins at Middelburg in 1456, TNA C 146/1065, may be the same man.

106 *CPR 1476–85*, 342; confirmed under signet of Richard III, BL MS Harl 433 f.107.

107 'Lorenzo Buonvisi', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, www.treccani.it; *CSPVen*, ii.499 (no. 1167); *VCH Essex* ii 382. Antonio Bonvisi, one of Wolsey's suppliers, had known Sir Thomas More since the 1490s and bought Crosby Place from him in 1524, www.oxforddnb.com (odnb/2860).

108 Sutton, *Mercery*, 221–2; Keene, 'Changes', 65, 70–1.

109 E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton 1983), 326–7; Gray, 'English Woollens', 21, 30–2; Fryde, *Studies*, XV 350; Bridbury, *Clothmaking*, 49, 66–8, 70–2; J. Speed, *The History and Antiquity of Southampton*, ed. E. R. Aubrey, SR Soc 8 (1909), 114; *CSP Ven* i. 64 n; Clarke, 'Commercial Activities', 302, 306; Fondo Datini 313003; TNA E 122/138/24; Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 86.

110 R. H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300–1525* (Cambridge 1986), 66–7; F. C. Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice, 1418–1449*, John Hopkins University, Studies in History and Political Science, series LXII. 1 (1444), 29–30, 130, 134, 170; Clarke, 'Commercial Activities', 300–1, 367–8; Bradley, *Views*, 15 (no. 7); *CFR 1461–71*, 25, 26. In 1466, a Venetian galley leaving London sailed along the Barbary coast with English goods for the region, *CSPVen* i.116 (no. 399), and by 1577 Londoners were trading to Barbary themselves, *CSP Dom*, i. 538 (CXI, no. 34).

111 The only 'Londoner' was the alien Steelyard merchant Arnold Wambolde.

112 Carus-Wilson and Coleman, 149.

113 Cobb, 'Cloth Exports', 604.

114 *The Overseas Trade of London: Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480–1*, ed. H. S. Cobb, London Record Society 27 (1990), xli–ii, see for instance 115 (nos. 457, 459–61).

115 Carus-Wilson and Coleman, 141.

116 Barron, *London*, 101, 110–11; G. D. Ramsay, 'Clothworkers, Merchant Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', *EHR* 92 (1977), 504–21, esp. 505 n3, 513.

117 Coleman, *1443–1444*, i.xxxii.

118 *'Panni di Codisgualdo, chevengono da Londra, e sonofatti in Codisgualdo'*, TNA C 131/67/12; G. F. Pagnini della Ventura, *Della decima e di varie altre gravezze imposte dal commune di Firenze; della moneta & della mercatura de'Fiorentini fino al secolo XVI* (4 vols., Lisbon and Lucca 1765–6), tomo quarto, 'La Pratica della Mercatura scritta da G. di Antonio da Uzzano nel 1442', capitolo XXII, 127.

119 E. J. P. Quinton, 'The Drapers and the Drapery Trade of Late Medieval London, *c*. 1300–*c*. 1500', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (2001), 128; Cobb, 'Cloth Exports', 602.

120 Britnell, 'Colchester', 65, 68; Bradley, *Views*, xlii. 81.7% of cloth invoices issued by Datini's agents stipulated packing in London, see H. Bradley, 'The Italian Community in

London *c*. 1350–*c*. 1450', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (1992), 173; for expenses, Fondo Datini 800631 (Guildford and Essex cloth sent from London).

121 Coleman, 20; Platt, *Southampton*, 162–3.

122 Stabel, 'From the Market to the Shop', 93; 'Southampton borough (1386–1421)', House of Commons, ed. Roskell, i.418–23; Ruddock, 144.

123 Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, 181; Bolton and Guidi Bruscoli, *Ledger*, www.queenmaryhistoricalresearch.org.

124 Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 326; Quinton, 'Drapery Trade', 242, 246–7, 258; see above Ch. 6; Duxbury, thesis, 247, attributes the prosperity of the 1440s to the Treaty of Tours 1444.

125 Discounting containers, such as galley barrels and chests.

126 Cobb, *Port Book 1439–40*, lvii; Ruddock, 206–14; Quinn and Ruddock, *Port Books* ii.xxxv–vi.

127 Ruddock, 211; Quinn and Ruddock, *Port Books* ii. xxxi–ii; Mallett, *Florentine Galleys*, 98, 175; *CSPVen* i.176 (no. 547), 182 (no. 555); for fifteenth-century warfare in Italy, M. Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London 1974), 232–5.

128 *CSPVen* ii.477 (no. 1111); Cobb, *Port Book 1439–40*, lvii n5, cf. Speed's date of 1569, Aubrey, *History*, 114 n2; G. D. Ramsay, 'The Undoing of the Italian Mercantile Colony in Sixteenth Century London', in *Textile History and Economic History*, eds N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting (Manchester 1973), 22–49, esp. 37–8; N. Mirkovich, 'Ragusa and the Portuguese Spice Trade', *Slavonic and East European Review*, American Series, 2 (1943), 174–187, esp. 185; C. M. Barron, C. Coleman and C. Gobbi (eds), 'The London Journal of Alessandro Magno, 1562', *London Journal* 9 (1983), 136–52, esp. 141, 143, 148.

129 A. Ruddock, 'London Capitalists and the Decline of Southampton in the Early Tudor Period', *EcHR* n.s. 2, no. 2 (1949), 137–51, esp. 137–8.

130 James, *Port Book 1509–10*, i xviii; Ruddock, 246–7

131 Barron, *London*, 117; 'Sir Thomas Gresham', odnb/11505, Oxford DNB xxiii. 764–70.

132 Ruddock, 'London Capitalists', 147–8.

133 See above Ch. 6.

134 Aubrey, *History*, 194.

CHAPTER 8

SOUTHAMPTON'S TRADING PARTNERS: WINCHESTER[1]

Winifred A. Harwood

Introduction[2]

Winchester was the principal town in Hampshire. It was larger than Southampton throughout the era of the brokage books and was one of Southampton's three most important trading partners. In 1300 Winchester had been a thriving cloth centre and had a population of *c*. 11,500. By *c*. 1550 this had fallen to *c*. 5,250,[3] as the increasing domination of London and the re-organisation of the cloth industry to cheaper centres contributed to the town's gradual decline. There remained within Winchester more than a dozen major institutions, the three wealthy Benedictine communities, St. Swithun's Cathedral Priory, Hyde Abbey and St Mary's Abbey, the large and impressive household of Winchester College, the hospitals of St Cross and St John's and other colleges, hospitals and four houses of friars.[4] Winchester was the centre of the diocese and Winchester Castle the location of the county court.[5] As an assize town, the quarter sessions attracted visitors from across the county at such times.[6] These advantages meant that, even in decline, Winchester remained an important provincial centre and market for the small towns beyond.[7] Although there was much vacant space within the walled city, there is also evidence of regeneration and financial outlay in the mid fifteenth century. High Street improvements included new workshops and retail premises made by the cathedral priory to the Godbegot property *c*. 1462–3 and new building at the nearby Pentice.[8]

Figure 8.1: Late medieval development at Winchester: Godbegot House c. *1462–3*.

Southampton was only twelve miles south of Winchester and was therefore well-positioned to supply the great institutions and those still active in its cloth industry, both directly and through intermediaries. A vital component of Southampton's trade was trade with Winchester. As a major market in Hampshire, much of what reached the town was redistributed to its hinterland. This trade had a significant impact on town and port alike. It also had a bearing on the number of carts and the range and type of commodities which were taken from Southampton to Winchester.

Figure 8.2: Late medieval development at Winchester: The Pentice.

Occupations

The brokage books reveal the occupations of just some of the people involved in trade, but frequently do not. The following table was drawn up using

information recorded by the broker. It shows some of the occupations and officials that helped generate the flow of trade between the port of Southampton and the town of Winchester and provides an indication of the type of town Winchester was and the sort of people who lived there.

This list is not of course exhaustive. It is known that many other occupations and trades were practised in Winchester in this period. Keene lists carpenters, glovers, hat makers, mercers, parchment makers, weavers amongst many more.[9]

Commodities were carted from the port for individuals; for institutions ranging from inns to Winchester College; for middlemen who would act as intermediaries 'selling on' goods in the town; and for merchants of other places, such as London, Newbury, Odiham and Oxford.

The town required dyes, mordants and tools, such as teasels and wool cards, for the dyers and fullers; wine for the innkeepers and taverners; wax for the chandlers; iron and coal for the farriers and smiths; and fish, millstones, salt, spices, wax and wine for the large religious households such as Hyde Abbey, St Mary's Abbey, St Swithun's Priory and Winchester College. A town such as Winchester generated a significant amount of trade both for its own use and for its hinterland.

Winchester: Volume of Trade from Southampton

Winchester and Salisbury were always in the top three partners of Southampton. The volume of carts to Winchester never rivalled Salisbury which was the re-distribution centre of a much wider area. Generally London and Salisbury vied for the lead position, leaving Winchester in third place. In the early years of the sixteenth century, albeit when the number of carts leaving Southampton overall was falling, and the direction of trade was changing, Winchester did hold second place in three of the years examined as can be seen in Figures 8.4–8.5. Southampton's role in supplying the capital was diminishing and the number of carts bound for London even fell behind the number going to Newbury which was growing in importance.

Group	Occupation/institution
Civic	clerks, mayors, town clerks
Cloth related	clothiers, dyers, drapers, *fullers, tailors, mercers*
Food and drink	commongers, innkeepers, taverners, vintners
General	burgesses, merchants
Iron, leather, wax and wood	chandlers, coopers, corveysors, farriers, smiths, tanners
Religious	abbots, bishops, butlers, cardinal, clerks, custodians, herdarians, priors, provosts, wardens

Those occupations shown in italics were not shown on the database but identified from other sources.

Figure 8.3: Winchester occupations.

Year of account	1st	2nd	3rd
1439–40	Salisbury	London	Winchester
1447–8	Salisbury	London	Winchester
1461–2	London	Salisbury	Winchester
1462–3	London	Salisbury	Winchester
1477–8	Salisbury	London	Winchester
1491–2	London	Salisbury	Winchester
1492–3	London	Salisbury	Winchester
1527–8	Salisbury	Winchester	London
1538–9	Salisbury	Winchester	Newbury
1539–40	Salisbury	Winchester	Newbury

Figure 8.4: Towns ranked by number of carts from Southampton.

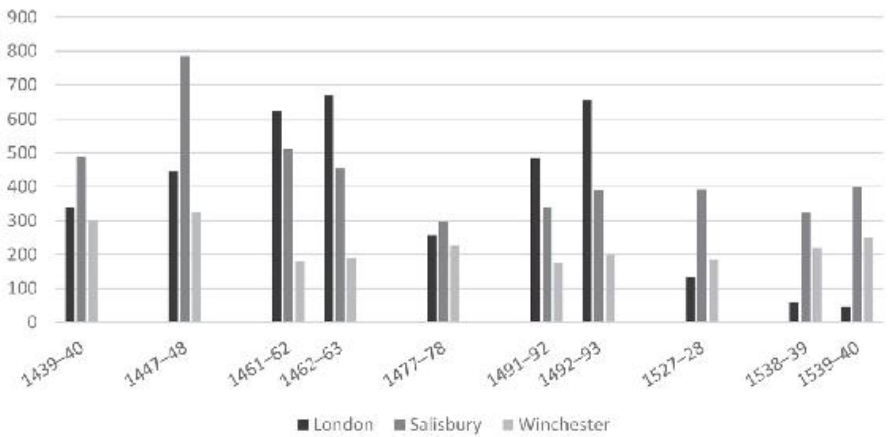


Figure 8.5: Number of carts to Winchester, London and Salisbury compared.

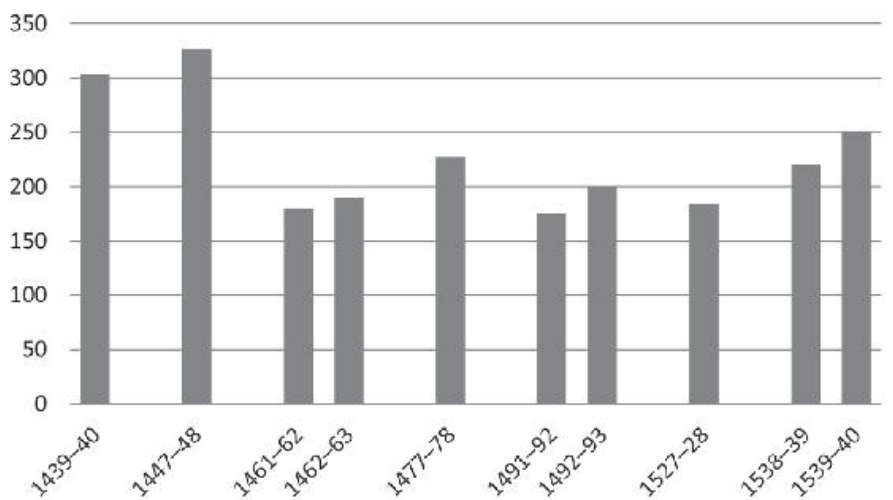


Figure 8.6: Carts leaving Southampton bound for Winchester.

	1439–40	1447–8	1461–2	1462–3	1477–8	1491–2	1492–3	1527–8	1538–9	1539–40
Winchester Carts	303	327	180	189	227	175	209	184	220	251
Total carts out of Southampton	1665	2251	1904	1892	1426	1437	1754	1396	1167	1310
% of total to Winchester	18%	15%	9%	10%	16%	12%	11%	13%	19%	19%

Figure 8.7: Carts to Winchester 1439–1540.

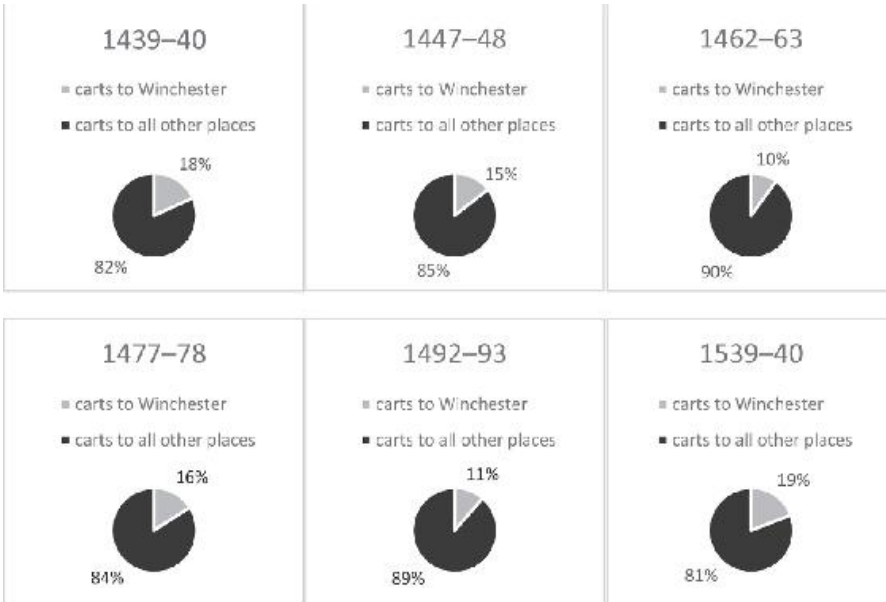


Figure 8.8: Carts to Winchester compared with total carts leaving Southampton.

The number of carts going to Winchester at the end of the period rose slightly to levels above 1461–3 and 1491–3, though not to the levels reached in 1439–40 and 1447–8 (Fig. 8.5). The decline of Winchester did not necessarily involve its customers.

The table and pie charts above, show the percentage of total trade (in terms of carts of commodities) which went to Winchester. In the two very busy years, 1439–40 and 1447–8, 303 and 327 carts or 18% and 15% of Southampton's total trade went to Winchester. By the end of the period in 1538–9 and 1539–40, when 220 and 251 carts went there, they represented 19% of total trade which left Southampton.

Despite changing trading patterns in the sixteenth century, the number of carts going to Winchester remained reasonably constant. There was a slight upturn in overall trade in 1539–40. This can be seen on Figure 8.9 which follows.

Although figures from year to year look relatively stable, a closer study of two individual years, 1439–40 and 1447–8, shows monthly trends, peaks and troughs, with high levels being reached consistently in February and March.

Although the arrival of shipping in port and seasonal variations in cargo, such as new wines in the autumn, had a bearing on the number of carts leaving the town, there does seem to be a correlation between the high points and the beginning of Lent, 40 days before Easter. Easter Day has been shown on Figure 8.10.

When Winchester College purchased lent stores in the sixteenth century, invariably these stores included various types of fish and other commodities such as raisins and fruit.[10] During the period of high trading activity in Winchester, February and March, it is particularly noticeable that lots of fish and wine, in varying quantities, were taken to the religious houses, particularly fish in February and wine in March, in time for Easter.

Commodities of Trade

The contents of the carts bound for Winchester have been examined in detail: first, according to the category of goods and then more specifically looking at individual items. Of the 19 different categories on the database, 17 were taken to Winchester, although some, such as riding equipment and military goods, were taken there only on the odd occasion. Items of dress and medicinal products were among the rare categories which were not taken to Winchester in the years examined.

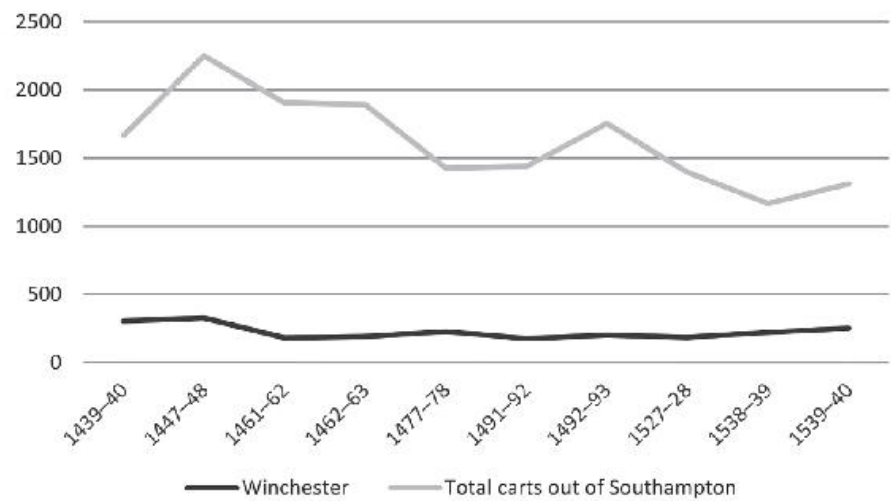


Figure 8.9: Comparison of total carts to Winchester compared with total carts from Southampton.

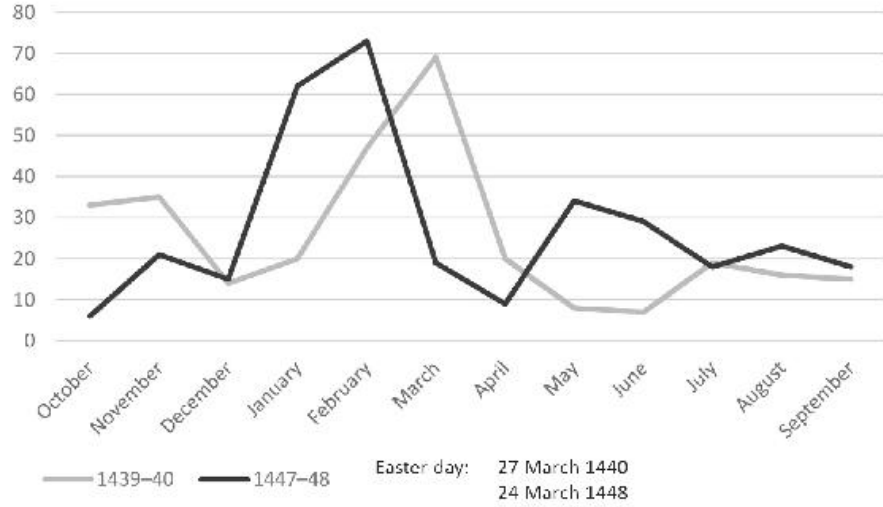


Figure 8.10: Carts from Southampton to Winchester in 1439–40 and 1447–8.

Figure 8.11 shows that the commodities which were sent to Winchester fall into three main categories: (i) consumables, food and drink; (ii) items for the wool and cloth trade; and (iii) industrial raw materials. For a town which supported some major households such as St Swithun's Priory and Winchester College and also a cloth industry, the types of commodities carted from the port to Winchester were predictable. Overwhelmingly the greatest number of entries concerned items of food and drink. This group was dominated by types of fish and wine. Second in importance were commodities used by the 'wool and cloth trade' and included dyes, particularly woad, mordants, and also tools used in cloth production, such as teasels and wool cards. The third category of 'industrial raw materials' included iron, oil, resin and tar.

When the contents of the carts are examined in closer detail, it becomes clear that a wide range of goods was taken to Winchester, 22 different types of fish, eight types of wine, 11 different spices and a variety of goods for the wool and cloth industry, with the expensive dye, woad, being taken there in every year examined, and the heavy commodity, iron, being sent regularly for the Winchester smiths. This is tabulated below (see Fig. 8.12).

The distribution to Winchester of one example from each of these three categories will be examined in detail. The three selected commodities are wine, woad and iron. All were bulk items, vital requirements for a town with a profile like Winchester. All these commodities, with numerous others, were despatched from the port to Winchester on behalf of merchants, middlemen or local traders, institutions and private individuals.

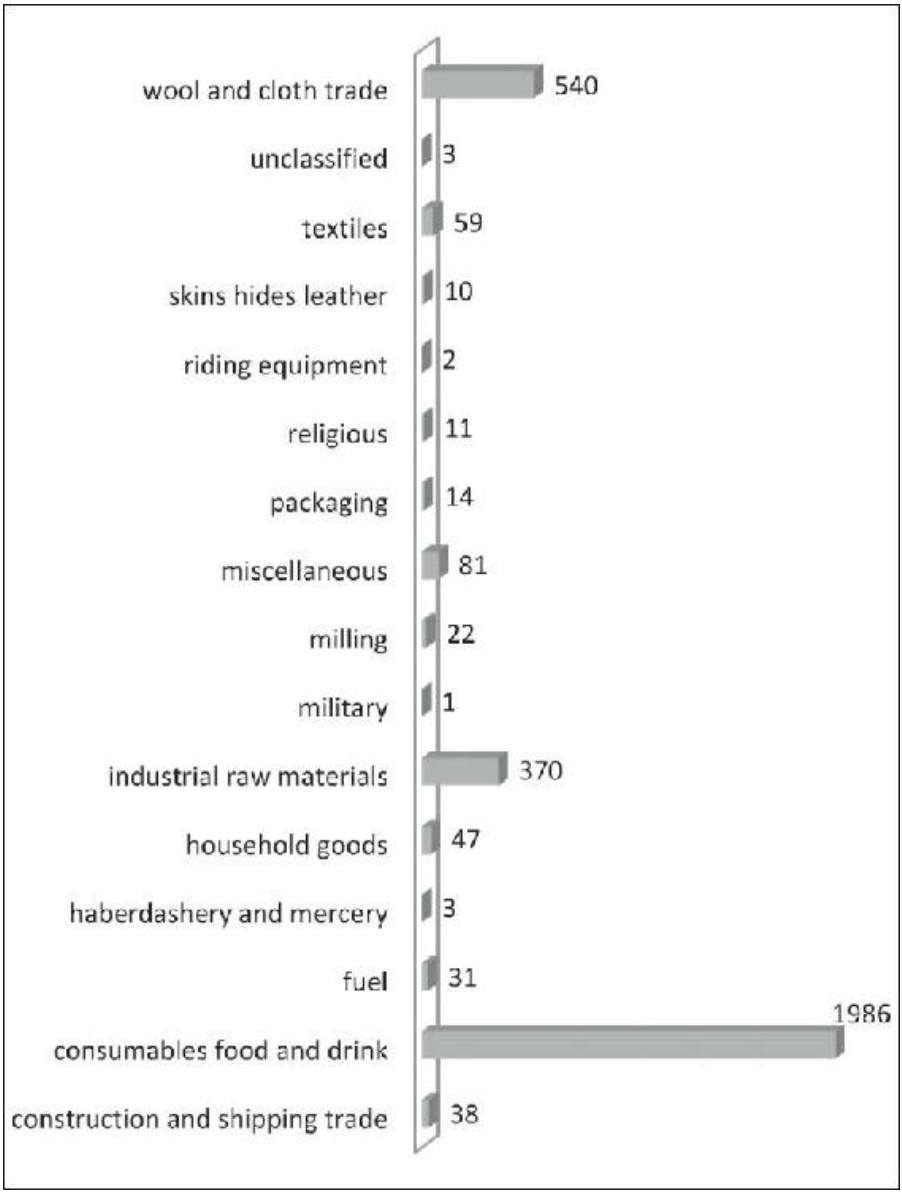


Figure 8.11: Number of entries of each commodity category (all years).

Distribution of Wine to Winchester

While the total amount being taken to Winchester in the years examined was considerably less than went to London and Salisbury, it was still 14% of the total which left the port bound inland (London 23% and Salisbury 23%) and represented a significant quantity.

Figure 8.14 shows that there was just one year, 1439–40, in which Winchester received more wine than Salisbury. By the end of the period,

when the supply of wine to the capital had virtually ceased, and the quantity going to Salisbury had reduced considerably, wine was still taken out to Winchester. While the overall quantity of wine may not have been huge, Winchester received a steady supply throughout the period and, in the last three years shown here, took approximately 47 tuns each year (see Fig. 8.15).

Some wine was sent directly from the port to the religious institutions which bought wine regularly from Southampton, though quantities were not large and some of these households, such as St Cross Hospital[11] and St Elizabeth's College,[12] are not mentioned in the accounts in every year. Others, such as the bishops, Hyde Abbey, St Swithun's Priory and Winchester College are mentioned in most years. Research has shown that Winchester College and St Swithun's Priory also purchased wine from Winchester vintner John Cotelere, whose supplies came from Southampton. Wine was also delivered to local inns and hostelries, to Geoffrey Parkere the innkeeper at the George in the High Street. It went to individuals such as Thomas Colvyle in the period 1477–1494 and to John Chalcroft, Richard Clerke, and John Gander, all in 1491–4.

There were only a few occasions when Italian merchants were involved in sending wine to Winchester, and the amounts were small. In 1430–1, Paolo Morelli sent one pipe and one barrel of sweet wine; and, in the same year, Gabriel Corbet (Corbizzi) despatched two butts of malmsey and rumney with the arrangement being made at 'the checker' Winchester. The Chequer Inn was situated in the High Street close to the centre of city administration, which may account for its name. In 1439–40 Gherardo Galganetti sent a tun of wine and, on another occasion that year, Andrea da Pisa (Pyse) sent six barrels of wine.

Consumables food and drink	
fish	eels, eels conger, fish non-specific, broad fish, dry fish, green fish, gurnard, Newfoundland fish, salt fish, haddock, hake, herring, red herring, white herring, ling, mackerel, milwell, oysters, salmon, sprats, stockfish, sturgeon
spices – aromatic	aniseed, cumin, ginger green, pepper
spices – other	almonds, currants, dates, figs, prunes, raisins, sugar
wine	bastard, malmsey, muscadel, must, new wine, red wine, rumney, sack, sweet wine, wine non-specific
Raw products wool and cloth trade	
dyes	brasil, madder, woad
mordants and other essentials	alum, black soap, fuller's earth, soap non-specific
tools cloth trade	cards, teasels
cloth related	flax, wool non-specific, wool low quality
Industrial Raw materials	elephant, cork, iron, marble, oil, resin, tar

Figure 8.12: Commodities carried to Winchester.

Figure 8.13: Total distribution of wine to London, Salisbury and Winchester (all years excluding 1430–1 and 1493–4).

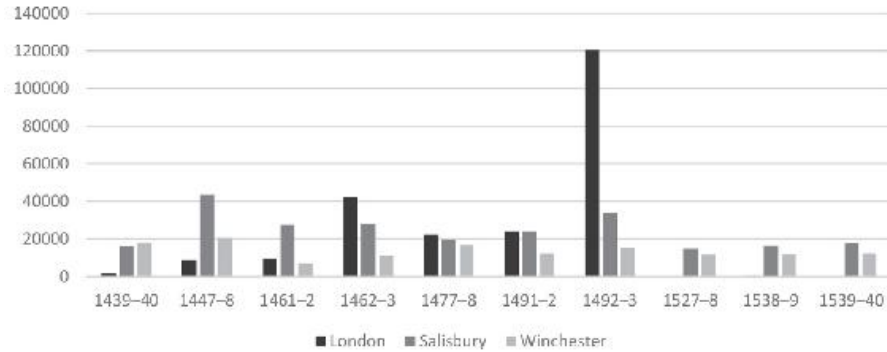


Figure 8.14: Distribution of wine from Southampton to London, Salisbury and Winchester 1439–1540.

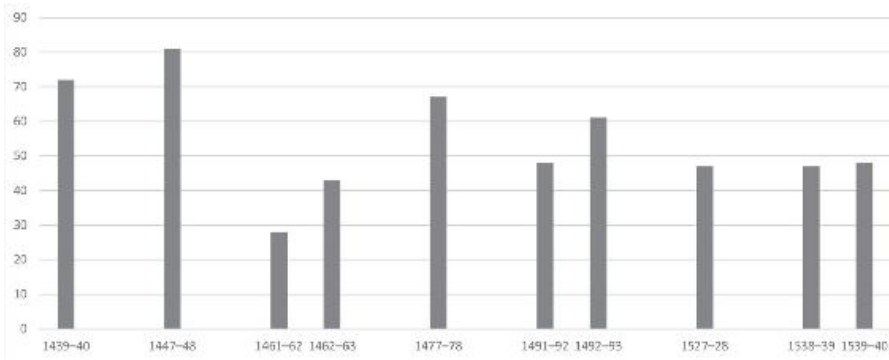


Figure 8.15: Distribution of wine from Southampton to Winchester (in tuns).

John Coteler *Vintner*	Total gallons to Winchester	Gallons to Coteler	Tuns to Coteler	% of total for Coteler
1439–40	18170	3466	13.75	19%
1447–8	20507	9513	37.75	46%
1461–2	6956	2112	8.3	30%
1462–3	10901	4410	17.5	40%

Figure 8.16: Wine carried to John Coteler.

Occasionally merchants of places such as London, Oxford, Reading and Salisbury sent wine to Winchester, but such instances were uncommon and quantities were small.[13] As Duxbury found, prominent Southampton merchants were not consistently involved in Winchester's wine supply.[14] Walter Fetplace, for example, only sent a small quantity there in 1430–1. Towards the end of the period Masters Harry and Thomas Huttoft were trading with Winchester, and in 1539–40, Master Lyster despatched as much as 14 tuns there. Between 1538–40, Thomas Bekyngham sent 2,268 gallons of wine (9 tuns), of which 126 gallons was malmsey (37.8v4). Bekyngham also traded to Winchester with a range of other commodities including figs and raisins, various fish, iron, salt and vinegar. Despite these examples, Winchester's wine trade was principally in the hands of Winchester merchants such as Nicholas Warner, wine taverner and mayor of Winchester in 1435–6,[15] and John Wodecok, who held property in Winchester High Street. Both imported wine and exported cloth through Southampton.[16]

One of the most important figures trading between the port and Winchester in the four years 1439–40, 1447–8, 1461–2 and 1462–3, was John Coteler(e), a Winchester merchant and vintner who died *c*. 1465. Coteler dealt almost exclusively in wine and traded only with Winchester. He is described variously as 'former servant of John Wodecok', 'vintner' and 'merchant'. It is likely that Coteler served under Wodecok before establishing himself in the wine trade.[17] Whereas Wodecok seems to have been responsible for supplying wine to other towns, such as Alton and Reading, as well as Winchester, Coteler concentrated on Winchester alone.

When the figures for wine sent to Coteler in Winchester are examined, they are impressive. They show that in 1447–8 he was responsible for approximately half the total wine sent to Winchester, and in 1461–3 for quantities that were still remarkable. He took city office as bailiff and chamberlain, and was associated with a tenement with two taverns and a garden which probably lay in Parchment Street.[18] His property was described as 'the cellar called Paradys'.[19] Coteler supplied wine to St Swithun's Priory and, in the mid-fifteenth century, provided wine for the chapel at Winchester College. Both institutions received wine directly from the port, but are also seen supporting local traders.

Distribution of Woad to Winchester

Vital supplies for the wool and cloth trade represented the second most

important category of commodities which were carted to Winchester – alum, fuller's earth, grain, madder and woad. Expensive dyes such as brasil and grain were almost entirely sent to London to the Italians. Therefore, it was all the more remarkable that on one occasion in 1539, brasil, the brilliant scarlet dye, was carted to Winchester for William Gobull, mercer, who held property in Winchester High Street (37.41v5).[20]

However, it is the expensive and important blue dye, woad, that is being examined here. The Genoese were responsible for shipping most of the woad (and alum) into Southampton and, even after the collapse of the alum trade, Genoese ships still arrived with fruit and woad. An act of 1489 which prohibited the import of Toulouse woad in foreign ships, surely curtailed the amount of woad entering the port. The charts below demonstrate a dramatic decline; surprisingly, however, Figure 8.17 shows that the quantity of woad entering Southampton had already reduced considerably by 1477–8, more than ten years before this act.

Woad was a particularly important dye. It was generally measured in balettes and throughout the period there were some indeterminate quantities but only few. For Winchester, there were only twelve indeterminate quantities for all the years (discounting the 1430–1 figures).[21] Ruddock provides a useful example which shows that in 1442–3 the value of 726 balettes of woad was £435 12s 0d, which calculates to approximately £0.6 per balette.[22]

Suppliers of Woad

The supply of this important dye particularly attracted London merchants to Winchester. Between 1430–1 and 1462–3 they were responsible for a large portion of the woad sent there. In 1439–40 London merchants John Brokele, John Christemas, John Gedney, William Langwith (tailor), John Scot (merchant) and Thomas Skot between them sent a total of 121 balettes of woad to Winchester. This represented 18% of the total 666 balettes sent there that year. In 1447–8 London mercantile involvement represented a greater percentage: their 164 balettes was 54% of the total 306 balettes. In 1462–3, the last year that London merchants were involved in supplying Winchester's woad, Thomas Synbarne (Symbarbe) sent just five balettes.

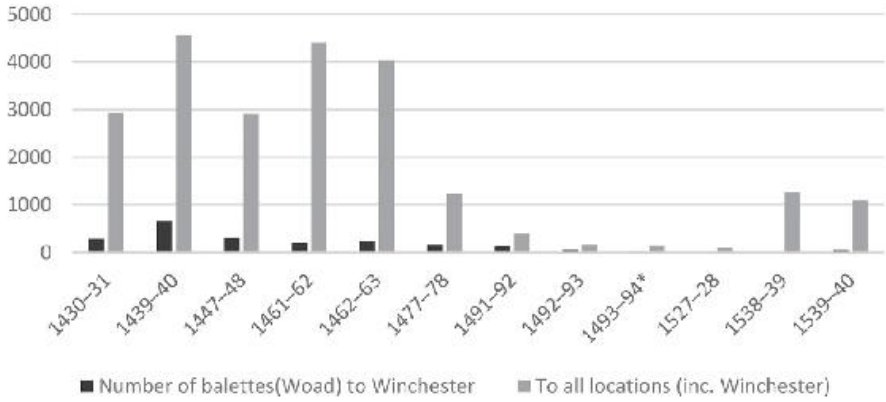


Figure 8.17: Total quantity of woad taken to Winchester compared with total leaving Southampton.

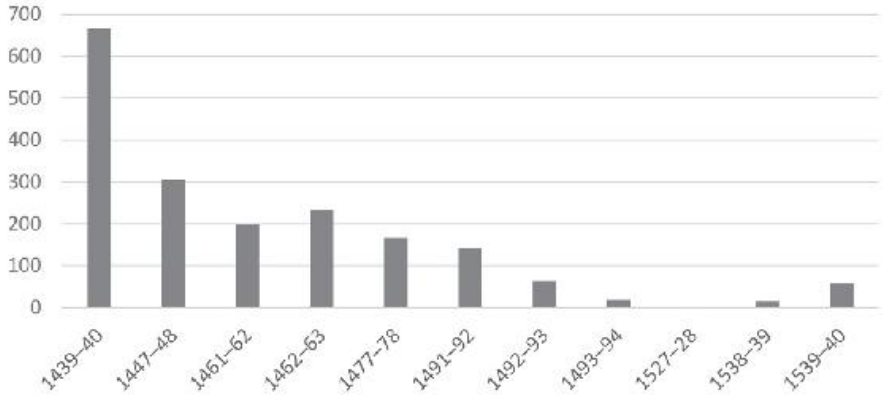


Figure 8.18: Total quantity of woad taken to Winchester.

Figure 8.19: Woad dispatched to Winchester.

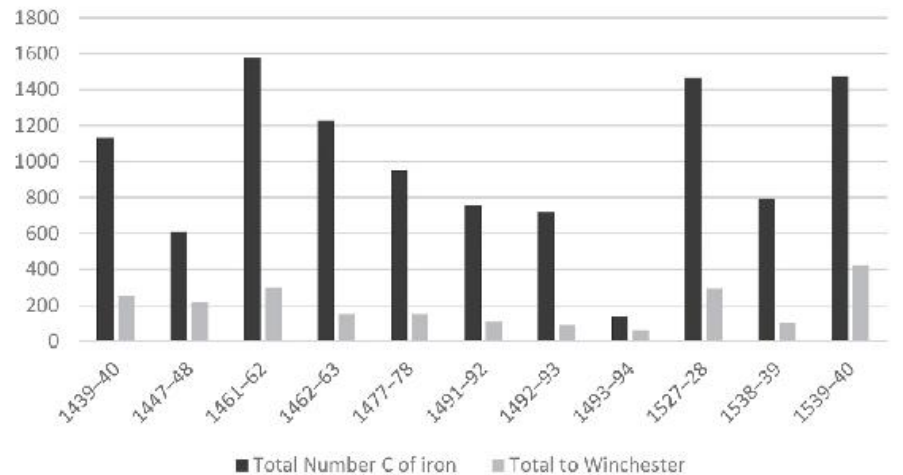


Figure 8.20: Quantity of iron to Winchester compared with total leaving Southampton.

Southampton merchants were rather less involved, although Walter Fetplace, who was a prominent dealer specialising in woad and sending it to a range of places, despatched 25 balettes to Winchester in 1439–40. In 1477–8 William Mekelowe sent just one balette (23.14v9).

What is clear is that, in those years, particularly after the London merchants had stopped supplying Winchester, Winchester traders sourced woad directly from Southampton themselves. Walter Hore, the dyer, had 20 balettes carted

there for him in 1430–1 and as much as 72 balettes in 1439–40. In terms of expense, the latter consignment was worth approximately £43, a considerable outlay. Hore became mayor of Winchester in 1425–6 and again in 1433–4.[23] Thomas Tremayne and Thomas Madherste each had 21 balettes sent there in 1447–8; in the same year that Madherste sent alum to Magdalen Fair in Winchester. A further 33 balettes of woad were sent for Madherste in 1462–3 (14.68r9) and 31 balettes went to William Dyer in 1491–2. For John Chalcroft, who lived at the east end of the High Street and is variously described as a tailor, mercer, grocer and haberdasher, and who served as mayor of Winchester in 1496–7,[24] quantities were small, just three balettes in 1491–2, and one balette in both 1492–3 and 1493–4.

Woad was carted to Winchester for people either directly or indirectly involved in the cloth industry, men like John Baker who lived in Wongar Street and was described by Keene as a fuller.[25] Baker was active in the second half of the fifteenth century and in 1477–8 had 13 balettes of woad carted to him; with 51 balettes, rather more, in 1491–2. Assuming a balette to be valued at £0.6, this would have been worth approximately £30 10s., a significant expense. Baker took civic office, becoming mayor in 1497–8, and died in 1503. He was buried in St Catherine's chapel in his local parish church of St Pancras. The property he had lived in was described as having a hall, two parlours, three chambers, a dye house, a kitchen and a 'werkhouse'.[26] This substantial property suggests that Baker had succeeded in his chosen occupation.

The greatest quantity carted to Winchester in a single year, was the 666 balettes taken there in 1439–40. No other year came near it. However, despite being such an impressive quantity, it represented only 15% of all woad imported that year (see Fig. 8.17).

On the pie charts (Fig. 8.19) the quantity of woad sent to Winchester each year is expressed as a percentage of the total amount leaving Southampton by land. After 1463 a steady downturn is seen with a slight rally at the end of the period in 1539–40.

Distribution of Iron to Winchester

Finally, turning to the third group of commodities, the industrial raw materials. This group included iron, marble and tin; iron featured most frequently.

Iron was an essential commodity in this period that was required in large quantities by smiths for a variety of uses, such as agricultural tools, building projects, horseshoes, keys and locks.[27] The quantity of iron being sent out to Winchester is shown on the chart above, and is compared with the total amount arriving in the port. It can be seen that iron was carted there in every year analysed. The smallest amount was in 1493–4, the year for which records are incomplete. Despite peaks and troughs, the supply of iron through

Southampton was maintained throughout the entire period (see Fig. 8.20).

Most of the iron which was sent to Winchester was for Winchester burgesses, such as Cornelius of Winchester (38.74r8), Master Chaundelere (38.16v4) and John Wryther to whom 100C iron was sent in 1430–1 and in 1439–40 (see, for example, 1.49r1 and 3.25r7). Wryther held various civic offices including that of mayor in 1437–8.[28] He did not restrict his trading interests to iron and had wine sent to him in 1430–1 (1.23v20) and oil and woad in 1439–40 (3.6r2 and 3.49v8). In the sixteenth century, in 1527–8, 20C iron was sent to Walter Harmane (33.7r6) and 60C in 1539–40 (38.89r3). It was taken to religious houses, such as St Swithun's Priory, as much as 80C in 1477–8, and to the bishop, for example, in 1492–3 (30r8).

The Winchester smiths were another group of people who depended on supplies of iron from the port. William Bore had regular amounts sent to him, 20C in 1439–40 (3.25v3), 10C in 1447–8 (8.48r5), 30C in 1461–2 and 20C in 1462–3 (14.21r7).[29] In 1447–8, 30C iron was taken there for the smith William Goodale, together with two quarters of coal (8.65v1). In 1477–8, twenty years later, 40C iron and four quarters of coal (22.37r5) went to Alice Goodale, who is described as freeman of Winchester and may have been his widow. Thomas Clerke and Robert Smyth of Westgate were also smiths. Both had iron sent to them from Southampton and were known suppliers to Winchester College.[30] Clerke received 20C iron in 1430 (1.37v18) and 31C in 1447–8 (8.23r9), and Robert Smyth received 70C in 1447–8 (8.38v7).

Southampton merchants such as Thomas Bekyngham and Master Lyster sent iron to Winchester, 95C and 20C respectively, in 1539–40 (38.43r6 and 38.83r7). Iron also went there in the name of others such as John Sochyn and Thomas Symbarbe, both freemen of London (13.15r8 and 14.21v8), and merchants of St Mary Overy, Southwark (1.45r20), Odiham (1.31v7), Reading (13.17v3) and St Marybourne (3.9r4). Most of the iron went to Winchester in the name of Winchester individuals or institutions, with little outside influence.

Merchants and Traders linked with Winchester's Trade

Overseas Merchants trading with Winchester

There was very little involvement of overseas merchants in Winchester's trade. John de More of Dunkirk was responsible for sending six barrels of red herring in 1439–40 (3.59v8) and John Rawlyne of Gascony sent wheat in 1447–8 (8.59r3). Two Dutch merchants, Peter Clayse in 1447–8 (8.97v5) and in 1461–2 John van Crowne (13.58v10) sent garlic and various merchandise.

Four Italians traded with Winchester, but only in two years and quantities were not large. In 1430–1 Gabriel Corbet sent wine (1.10v18), malmsey and rumney (1.3v15) and oil (1.43r17). Paolo Morelli sent sweet wine (1.31r14). In 1439–40 Gherardo Galganetti sent barrels (3.38r1), miscellaneous goods

(3.134r3), wine (3.134r3) and woad (3.23r4), and Andrea da Pisa sent just wine (3.133v4). At the very end of the period, in 1539–40, a merchant of Portugal sent oranges to Winchester (38.61v4).

English Merchants

London

The records identify fifteen London traders, some referred to simply as 'merchant of London', who sent goods from Southampton to Winchester, in just seven of the years. The range of goods they sent was very limited: alum, carpets and coverlets, eels, herring, iron, milwell, must, wine and woad. Woad was the commodity which attracted the London merchants, but they were only involved in sending alum and woad to Winchester in the early years, 1430–48. Some fish was sent, but only eels, herring and milwell and only in 1447–8, 1462–3 and 1492–3; wine went only twice, once in 1430–1 when must was sent, and once in 1447–8.

All London traders listed below were either described as 'merchants' in the brokage books or are those whose occupations were identified, such as draper and tailor. A further eight men from London traded with Winchester. They included John Feylde, who sent fish there in 1447–8, and others who are referred to as 'merchant of London' and 'merchant of St Mary Overy' [Southwark], and whose names are not specified. Some London merchants involved in supplying Winchester were John Brokle, John Christemas, John Gedney (the London draper), William Langwith (a London tailor), John Skot, Thomas Skot, William Tailour. All of these merchants dealt in woad, and some, such as Thomas Skot, dealt in wine and woad in 1447–48 (8.59r7 and 8.69r10). Others, like William Tailour, traded in alum and woad in 1447–48 (8.13r2). In addition, throughout the period, there are entries showing 'men of London' whose names are not specified but who sent goods to Winchester. They are summarised below:

Year of account	No. of entries showing 'men' of London sending goods to Winchester	Commodities
1430–1	4	iron, must, woad (2)
1439–40	17	woad (17)
1447–8	21	alum (4), herring (2), wine (1), woad (14)
1462–3	4	eels (2), iron (1), woad (1)
1491–2	1	iron (1)
1492–3	1	fish (milwell 1)
1539–40	2	carpets (1), coverlets (1)

Figure 8.21: Londoners sending goods to Winchester.

Salisbury

The dearth of Salisbury merchants trading from Southampton to Winchester is remarkable. The database does show merchant Henry Baron sending wine to

Winchester in 1430–1 (e.g. 1.23r6) but only in that year. Most of his trading activities were with Salisbury. Important Salisbury merchants, William Barlow, Richard Bartholomew [Bartelemew] and John Halle, traded almost exclusively with Salisbury; yet even Thomas Coke, Thomas Chaffyn and John Aport who traded to other towns, such as Basingstoke, London and Reading, as well as Salisbury, did not trade with Winchester in the sample years. Research for Winchester College did confirm a link between two of these Salisbury merchants, Richard Bartholomew [Bartelemew] and John Halle, who both supplied wax to Winchester College in the fifteenth century.[31] The expense of the commodity and possibly the prestige of supplying the college may have motivated these merchants to trade outside their normal area.

Southampton

Southampton merchants were linked through trade with Winchester, and most of the goods they sent there were of the 'food and drink' category, with the most important commodity being wine. However, they also sent a range of other goods such as canvas, iron, oil and woad, all useful commodities rather than luxury items. An example is Walter Fetplace, who traded with a variety of places, particularly with alum, iron, madder, oil, wine and woad; but it was alum, barrels, oil, wine and woad, that he sent to Winchester. Robert Blewet is another example. He traded widely to places such as Bristol, Gloucester, London, Oxford, Reading, Salisbury and Witney, and sent goods, surprisingly, only once to Winchester. This was when he sent 252 gallons of oil in 1461–2 (13.17r7). William Mekelow traded with Winchester in 1477–8; his commodities included alum, fish oil, herring, tallow and woad. Thomas Dymmok sent wine in 1491–2 (28.34r6). Harry and Thomas Huttoft sent wine in 1527–8 (33.60r11 and 33.4v1). Master Caplyne sent fish, hake and herring there in 1538–9 (37.45r2). Thomas Bekingham, the mayor of Southampton in 1547–8, who originated from Salisbury,[32] sent a variety of goods to Winchester in the period 1538–40, mainly fish, iron and wine. Master Lyster, a burgess of Southampton, and a relative of the well-known Sir Richard Lyster, chief baron of the exchequer and late chief justice,[33] sent fish, iron and wine to Winchester, but mainly wine. Notable by his absence is Christopher Ambrose who sent goods to a wide range of places not far from Winchester (Kingsclere, Odiham and Romsey), and yet he forged no links with the Hampshire capital in these years.

Basingstoke

Merchants of smaller places such as Basingstoke traded infrequently from Southampton to Winchester. John Sabyn sent herring in 1527–8, and William Gryte [Grete] hake and herring in the two year period 1538–40 respectively (see 33.37r5 and 38.40r3 for example). Both could have traded over a longer period bearing in mind evidence is based on a sample of books. Thomas Wyseman of Bristol sent wheat in 1447–8 (8.79r1 and 8.79v4), and merchants

of Newbury sent fish, red and white herring, to Winchester in 1430–1 (1.21v6).

Winchester

As well as trading between the port and Winchester, some Winchester merchants traded further afield. In 1430–1 a merchant of Winchester sent garlic to Andover (1.28r21). Thomas Sylfester sent fruit, garlic, herring and wax there in 1439–40, and garlic to London and Marlborough in the same year. Nicholas Warner, wine taverner and mayor of Winchester 1435–6, imported wine through Southampton and exported cloth. He sent wine to Oxford 1439–40. Thomas Tremayne sent 756 gallons of wine to Andover in 1447–8 (see for example 8.75v10). Stephen Wyse sent wine and woad to Salisbury in 1461–2 (13.67v10). Robert Colles sent fish to Wantage in Berkshire in 1492–3 (29.32r11), while Cornelius, burgess of Winchester, sent herring to Salisbury in 1538–9 (37.54r1).

John Coteler (d. *c*. 1465) merchant and vintner of Winchester, was one of the important figures trading between the port and Winchester in the four years 1439–40, 1447–8, 1461–2 and 1462–3. John Kent, chandler, received wax from Southampton and supplied Winchester College for almost 37 years in the mid-fifteenth century. He was bailiff of the city and mayor in 1454–5.[34] Both Coteler and Kent seem to have restricted their interests solely to Winchester, although Kent did send 1C wax to Salisbury on one occasion in 1447–8 (8.32r8).

Conclusions

Consumables, food and drink, particularly fish and wine, requirements for the cloth trade, particularly dyes and mordants, and industrial raw materials such as iron, were the three biggest categories of goods which were taken to Winchester. By the end of the period wine and fish still dominated the list of goods, but the variety of fish was restricted mainly to herring. The range of spices had also contracted with none of the aromatic spices, just figs and raisins being taken to Winchester, and apart from a few luxury goods, carpets, coverlets and glass, all other commodities fell into the useful or essential category.

Most of the commodities carted to Winchester were for Winchester people. The goods being carted there for the Italians, for London merchants and merchants of elsewhere, represent just a very small part of the total. Italian merchants, for example, had little involvement with Winchester trade, and there was only scant involvement on the part of overseas merchants throughout the entire period. Italians traded there only in the early years, and restricted their interests to the wine trade.

London men, some described as merchants, played a greater role in supplying Winchester, sending small quantities of alum, fish, iron, wine and,

at the end of the period, carpets and coverlets. It was the supply of woad which particularly attracted London merchants to the Hampshire town, but only in the first half of the fifteenth century. Thereafter local Winchester traders sourced the dye directly from the port. Winchester's wine trade was principally in the hands of Winchester merchants of which John Coteler was the most involved. The very limited amount of trade with Salisbury merchants is particularly noteworthy. The brokage books ignore any indirect trade via Salisbury itself.

Southampton merchants took an active role in Winchester's trade, especially in fish and wine, and also in a range of other goods such as canvas, iron, and salt. Merchants of Newbury, Odiham and Oxford sent a few consignments of goods, but only at the very beginning of the period. Later, at the end of the period, William Gryte [Grete], one of Basingstoke's mercantile elite, sent fish to Winchester.[35]

Much of Winchester's trade was in the hands of Winchester people. There is evidence of Winchester merchants trading out of the county to Salisbury in Wiltshire and Wantage in Berkshire, but also to other places in Hampshire, particularly to the north of the town, such as Andover.

Institutional purchasing was clearly important, and the presence of the religious houses and Winchester College certainly helped maintain the flow of goods from the port to the town. The large institutions purchased directly from the port, but also purchased goods locally from intermediaries whose supplies came from Southampton.

Notes

1 The brokage books do not attribute all traders to specific towns. This discussion draws on other sources, notably D. Keene, *Surv*ey, esp. vol. ii; Platt, *Southampton*; and on fellow contributors to this volume.

2 All database references should be preceded by SC5.5. Where more than one reference applies, one is offered.

3 Even though the population had not recovered to *c*. 11,500 reached in 1300, it was *c*. 5,250 in *c*.1550, T. B. James, 'The Population Size of Winchester over 2,000 Years: A Survey', Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society, *Section Newsletters* 9 (1988), 1–3.

4 The Hospitals of St Mary Magdalen and the Sustern Spital, and St Elizabeth's College.

5 See B. Carpenter-Turner, *A History of Winchester* (Chichester, 1992), 26.

6 Harwood, thesis, 174, in which it was shown that the college was drawn into the provision of hospitality to visitors at the time of the quarter sessions; Tradesmen and innkeepers struggled to survive without the usual number of visitors when meetings of quarter sessions and assizes ceased in 1642, A. Rosen, 'Winchester in Transition 1580–1700', *Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. P. Clark (Leicester, 1981), 163.

7 Rosen, 'Winchester in Transition', 144–195.

8 E. Roberts, *Hampshire Houses 1250–1700* (Winchester, 2004), 194; T. B. James and E. Roberts, 'Winchester and Late Medieval Urban Development: From Palace to Pentice', *Medieval Archaeology* xliv (2000). 181–200.

9 Keene, *Survey*, i. 352–365.

10 Harwood, thesis, 231.

11 St Cross Hospital, two tun wine in 1447–8.
12 St Elizabeth's College, wine in 1439–40.
13 For examples see London 1.5v1, Oxford 1.33v32; Reading 13.47v7; Salisbury 1.9v4.
14 Duxbury, thesis, 262.
15 Keene, *Survey*, ii.1379.
16 *Ibid*. ii. 1391.
17 Another of this name active in Winchester in 1477–8 was probably related (possibly a son?) who traded in wine, fruit and fish.
18 Keene, *Survey*, ii. 1204; bailiff one and two in 1451–2 and 1448–9 respectively, and chamberlain 1457–8.
19 *Ibid*. ii. 591.
20 *Ibid*. ii. 1244.
21 The greatest number of indeterminate quantities was in 1539–40 when there were six for Winchester. In 1439–40 and 1492–3 one indeterminate, 1462–3 and 1491–2 two, 1539–40 six. In 1447–8, 1461–2, 1477–8 and 1538–9, there were no indeterminate quantities.
22 Ruddock, 192.
23 Keene, *Survey*, ii. 1265.
24 *Ibid*. ii. 1187 and 796.
25 *Ibid*. ii. 1152.
26 *Ibid*. ii. 723–4;
27 Harwood, Iron and Wax, 4–14.
28 Keene, *Survey*, ii. 1392.
29 *Ibid*. ii. 1168.
30 Harwood, thesis, 286.
31 *Ibid*. 309–315.
32 Platt, *Southampton*, 216.
33 *Ibid*. 249.
34 Keene, *Survey*, ii. 1276.
35 Gryte [Grete] is attributed to Basingstoke in the brokage books, but although he came from a Basingstoke family, indications are that he worked out of Southampton; see below Ch. 9.

Chapter 9

SOUTHAMPTON'S TRADING PARTNERS: THE SMALL TOWNS OF HAMPSHIRE AND WILTSHIRE[1]

John Hare

Southampton's overland trade was overwhelmingly dominated by the cities of Salisbury, London and Winchester, but the lesser components of Southampton's trade should not be neglected. There has been an increasing awareness of the significance of small towns and of an urban hierarchy and it is important to see how such towns fitted in to the patterns of trade. This chapter focuses on the towns of two neighbouring counties: Hampshire, which surrounded Southampton, and the neighbouring county of Wiltshire, but also incorporates eastern Somerset since the west Wiltshire cloth industry overlapped the county border. There were similarities and contrasts between Hampshire and Wiltshire. Both included a variety of towns. The trade of each county was dominated by a single centre: Winchester and Salisbury respectively. But Hampshire's towns were less overwhelmed by Winchester than those of Wiltshire by Salisbury. After Salisbury, the most active Wiltshire towns in Southampton's trade was Marlborough with 84 carts. By contrast six Hampshire towns exceeded that figure, substantially so (Fig. 9.1). The contrasting patterns of trade are well shown in the figures for herring: Salisbury was responsible for 94.8% of Wiltshire's trade, Winchester for only 51.3% of that of Hampshire. In general, much of Hampshire's trade was the responsibility of a ring of small towns: in particular Romsey, a town with its own particularities, Ringwood in the west, and a group of towns in north Hampshire: Basingstoke, Alton, Alresford, and Andover.

The selection of towns for study has been based on those places where trade through the brokage books was a regular event, at least for a time, rather than merely an occasional occurrence. Some towns have been excluded from this study because their role within Southampton's overland trade was too limited or erratic, even though this was not necessarily related to their own

size or population. The towns of southern Hampshire, with the exception of Romsey, witnessed relatively little overland trade from Southampton. Such ports as Portsmouth and Christchurch did not appear, while those like Lymington did so only infrequently, since any trade with Southampton was probably by sea. It is the small scale of direct trade with Southampton that is noticeable for most of the towns of south Hampshire.

Salisbury's extreme economic domination over the rest of Wiltshire meant that few Wiltshire towns traded regularly on any substantial scale with Southampton. A lower bench mark therefore has been used than for Hampshire. Moreover, the county looked outward in three ways: to the west and Bristol; to the east and London; and to the south and Southampton. A substantial town like Chippenham figures not at all in the brokage books. It lay in the north of the county on the main Bristol to London route, so that its trade was probably predominantly with these two towns. The principal towns in the county after Salisbury were Devizes, Marlborough, Wilton, which, along with Malmesbury, constituted the main regional centres of the county. All figure in Southampton's trade, and all are examined.[2] Trade with Southampton was dominated by the cloth industry for which the county boundaries bore little relevance. West Wiltshire has therefore been extended into eastern Somerset.

The figures for some towns were inflated by the presence of a large institution or land owner. Monasteries, bishops, and lay lords required fish and wine. Examples are Southwick and Amesbury priories, Wherwell Abbey, and the bishop of Winchester at Bishops Waltham. Some key components of the towns examined in this chapter are collected in Figures 9.1 and 9.5, giving an indication of the scale of the town's activities in the Southampton trade, their population and their wealth. The figure of carts per taxpayer provides a crude index of the scale of their trading hinterland, for it was trade beyond the urban area that accounted for high figures of cartage, above all with Winchester and Salisbury.

Hampshire

Basingstoke

Basingstoke had long been an important town and market centre in north-east Hampshire, and was on a main route from the west-country to London.[3] Already one of the principal towns in the county in the early fourteenth century, it grew rapidly in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century on the back of the dramatic expansion of the cloth industry. Very unusually it acquired a new fair in the fifteenth century (1449).[4] By the time of the 1524–5 subsidy assessment it was, after Winchester and Southampton, the third most populous and the wealthiest town in Hampshire and among the top 60 towns in England.[5]

	No. of carts	Pop. 1524–5	Wealth 1524–5	Carts per taxpayer 1524–5
Alresford	107	82	£17	1.3
Alton	152	260	£55	0.6
Andover	279	152	£22	1.8
Basingstoke	173	316	£69	0.5
Ringwood	121	100	£23	1.2
Romsey	705	210	£20	3.4
Winchester	2332	330	£61	7.1

Other Hampshire small towns with the number of carts on the database: Bishop's Waltham (15 carts), Christchurch (19), Fordingbridge (38), Hursley (36), Lymington (8), Odiham (23), Overton (17), Petersfield (4), Portchester (0), Portsmouth (0), Southwick (15), Stockbridge (6), Titchfield (0), Wherwell (24), Whitchurch (24). All possess carts per taxpayer ratios between 0 and 0.5, except for Hursley (1.2) and Wherwell (3.0).

Source: Database; J. Sheail, *The Regional Distribution of Wealth* (1998), 117–37.

Figure 9.1: The small towns of Hampshire trading with Southampton.

There was little cloth production in 1394–5, when Basingstoke, unlike the small towns of Alton, Alresford and Andover, did not warrant its own specific entry in the aulnage accounts, which recorded the marketing of cloth.[6] By 1467, this had changed. The town and nearby Odiham had become important centres registering 4.8% of the county's cloth, although Basingstoke remained less important than Winchester, Romsey, and Alton and its neighbours.[7] Fines for breaking the trading regulations reveal that large-scale growth continued in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The number of such fines from those involved in cloth production or marketing rose from 5 in 1454 to 19 in 1470, then after a period of stability to 28 in 1491and to 67 in 1524, before stabilising at 66 in 1531.[8] Clearly the cloth industry was booming in early sixteenth century Basingstoke.

Looking at trade with Southampton, two features stand out. Carts to Basingstoke were few and stable in numbers during the fifteenth century, with a peak in 1440 of 13 carts. There were substantially more in the early sixteenth century. The growth of the town and the cloth industry seems to have encouraged direct trade to Southampton rather than via the intermediate market of Winchester. During the fifteenth century, the main item of direct trade was wine, which made up almost half the recorded transactions (38 of 68 carts). Fish was only a small part of the direct trade (7 carts). The remaining transactions covered a variety of items: iron, oil, cards, fruit, bowstaves, brass, wool and mill stones.[9] By the 1520s and 1530s Basingstoke's trade had grown substantially and rather changed in character. The number of carts had increased from an annual average of 7½ to 38 per year. Wine remained substantial at 24%, but fish became much more important with 47% of the carts. The nine carts of woad reflect growth in the cloth industry and three carts of hops probably indicate the growing wealth of the brewers, as brewing became focused in larger units and fewer hands.

Occasionally something more can be said about the men involved. In the

fifteenth century they were usually involved in isolated transactions. The obvious exception was Julian of Basingstoke in 1440, who was engaged in 5 transactions of wine and 1 of oil, besides sending wine to Reading. Richard Kingesmyll, a wealthy innkeeper from 1455–70, brought in fruit, fish and wine in 1462–3.[10]

In the sixteenth century some of the town's mercantile elite were engaged in several transactions with Southampton. One feature of the trade was the development of family agents who became Southampton merchants. William Grete was important in the fish trade. He was a burgess of Southampton who averaged 11 transactions a year in 1538–40, all of which were in the provision of fish. He also supplied fish to Newbury and Winchester. William came from a long-standing family of butchers active in Basingstoke from at least 1409. One was fined as a butcher from 1503 and another probable relation, John Grete, imported salt in 1527–8. William Grete, the Basingstoke butcher who died in 1540, was one of the most highly assessed in Basingstoke in 1523, and was part of the elite leaders of the town, bailiff in 1530 and warden of the guild of the Holy Cross in 1536. The next generation at Basingstoke were represented by William Grete, draper. Robert Ronanger also came from a rich Basingstoke family and averaged 15 transactions a year in the brokage books in 1538–40, of which 55% were of wine, but which also included fish, woad, iron, salt and oranges. He had established his roots in the port, was a burgess of Southampton, and by 1548 had become controller of the customs. His predecessor in Basingstoke, Richard Ronanger, was a rich mercer and fishmonger and was one of the wealthiest inhabitants in 1523. The combination of trading in cloth and fish may seem an odd one, but it made sense. Sale of cloth generated money in the port which could then be used to buy fish to take back to Basingstoke. Like the Gretes, the Ronangers included a Southampton merchant and a Basingstoke citizen, the new generation of the latter being represented by John Ronanger, tailor. Others involved in the Southampton–Basingstoke trade at the end of the period included John Lypeskome, who averaged 7½ transactions, all of which were in fish, in the same two years and William James who was involved 8 times in 1527–8, mainly for wine but also including some fish and iron. Others as before were individual transactions. For wine these included at least two inn keepers Couslade and John Kent in 1527–8 (33.50r1, 33.17r5).[11] Occasionally Basingstoke men were directly involved in the cloth exports: Robert Walker in 1539–40 sent 40 pieces of kersey to Southampton and John Stocker in 1527–8 sent 100 kerseys (33.11v7).

Andover

Andover was the largest second rank town in Hampshire after Basingstoke, Alton and Romsey.[12] It was long-established, with a market and fair from 1205.[13] It was a cloth-producing and marketing centre that was well-placed on

major traffic routes both east and west, and north and south.[14] Andover's 2% share of the county's cloth marketing in 1394–5 grew in the early fifteenth century to 6.1% (with Whitchurch) in 1466–7.[15] It was active as a trading centre, although on a much smaller scale than neighbouring Winchester.[16] After Winchester and Romsey, it was Southampton's principal trading destination in Hampshire. Andover's merchants traded elsewhere and merchants from elsewhere brought goods into the town. There was major fire in 1434. So badly did Andover suffer that in 1435 and 1437 it was excused from payment of the main parliamentary tax, the fifteenth and tenth, yet Winchester College felt it worthwhile to invest heavily in housing and in a major new inn, at a cost of about £400 and in anticipation of an annual rent of £8.[17] In 1445 the college began redeveloping two vacant properties into the inn and three substantial houses. Such optimism was perhaps reflected in the high figures of brokage transactions in the later 1440s (Fig. 9.2). But this prosperity did not last. Trade was low in the early 1460s, reflected in the rent reductions for the Angel Inn in 1461–2.[18] Trade with Southampton had recovered by 1478, after which it remained steady at a lower level throughout the remainder of the century and into the early sixteenth century. There was no later rise as at Basingstoke. Andover's cloth industry had probably grown earlier than that of Basingstoke.

Andover's trade consisted largely of wine and fish, together with a miscellaneous range of goods including exotic fruits, dyestuffs, iron, oil, wax and soap. The most common item was fish (231 journeys). This made Andover, after Salisbury and Winchester, the most important fish market in the area, suggesting that it was catering for a wider area than the town and its immediate hinterland. Andover's ratio of herring barrels to taxpayers even exceeded that of the much larger market of Winchester. In 1444, Nicholas Longe of Marlborough brought 4 butts of salmon to Andover.[19] Meanwhile wine made up 61 journeys. But Andover also possessed its own distinctiveness. One feature of its trade was the importance of iron: 38 carts of iron were sent, making Andover the fourth largest market for iron after Salisbury, Winchester and Romsey. As with fish, it may have been a market for those who came from further north. Secondly, although the town was an important cloth centre, there was a virtual absence of woad in its trade.

Andover included substantial merchants throughout the period, from Andrew Hayward in 1430–1 with 27 transactions, mainly fish but also including iron, millstones, fruit, garlic and wine. Master Knight concentrated on wine in 1461–2, with 10 transactions, but also dealt in fish, iron, hops, and sent corn to Southampton, and wine to Salisbury. John Maynsak, with 20 transactions, traded from 1461 to 1478, mainly in fish but also with some iron, garlic, fruit, soap and wine. By contrast, John Morant with 21 transactions between 1430 and 1461 handled almost exclusively wine and also some fish, iron and resin, while Richard Nutkyn sent 33 loads to the town mainly fish (14) and wine (7), yet also carried fruit, iron, soap and woad.

	1431	1440	1444	1448	1449	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1528	1539	1540
Basingstoke		13	11	4	5	7	7	7	10	9	21	49	42
Alresford	1	2	0	2	9	12	13	21	8	14	7	9	12
Alton		11	15	18	22	13	19	12	13	10	13	11	26
Andover	7	23	11	39	34	16	16	35	22	27	26	26	28
Ringwood		19	30	11	11	20	19	26	4	5	3	5	7
Romsey	7	120	202	149	147	78	79	60	37	60	48	26	34

Source: Coleman, 1443–4; Harwood, Trade. Dates by close of accounting year.

Figure 9.2: Annual trade of main Hampshire small towns 1431–1540 (by carts).

	Wine	Fish (total)	Fish (herring)	Dyestuffs	Woad	Iron
Basingstoke	66	143	75	9	9	16
Alresford	57	36	19	7	6	18
Alton	71	19	9	53	40	17
Andover	62	231	138	2	1	38
Ringwood	45	39	20	48	38	5
Romsey	204	179	138	217	145	65

Source: database

Figure 9.3: Main goods sent by destination (in carts).

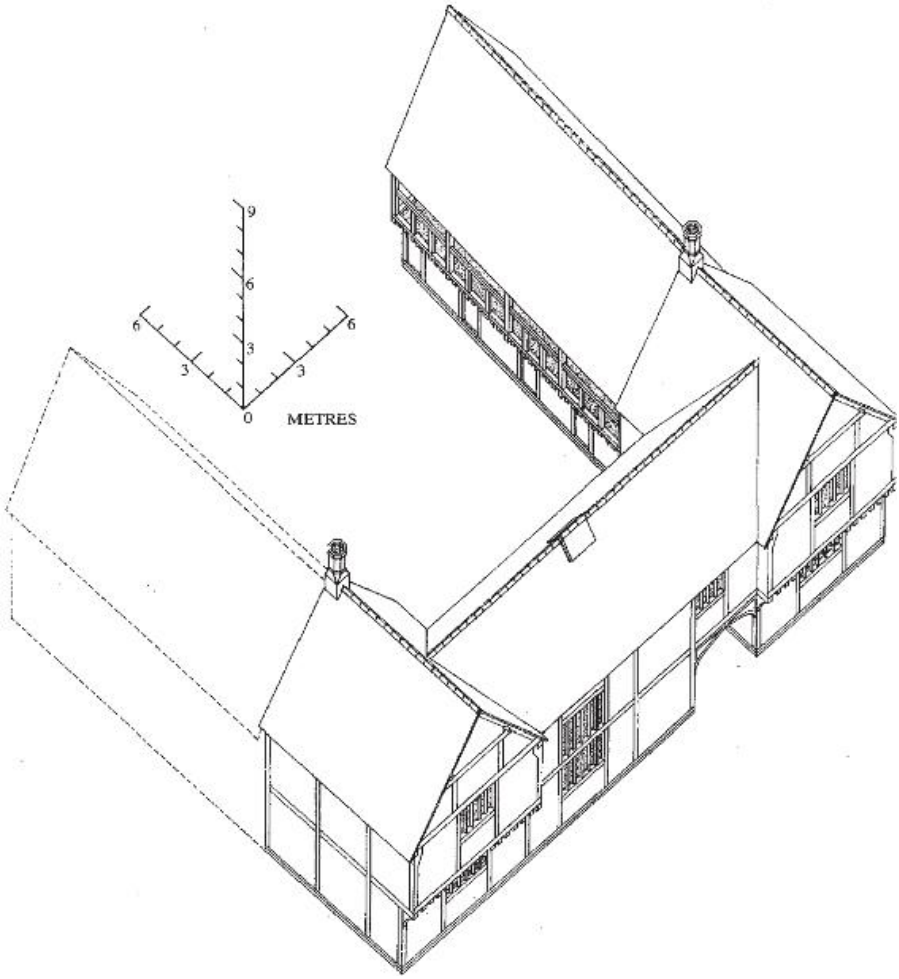


Figure 9.4: The Angel Inn, Andover. An entirely new inn, reflecting both the importance of inns and of market towns like Andover in the overland trade from Southampton.

Andover's economic vigour is shown by the trade of its own merchants with the towns beyond and the willingness of traders from other towns and villages to bring goods to Andover's markets. Andover's townsmen traded especially with Newbury and Hungerford, but also made single journeys to Basingstoke and Salisbury. In addition outside merchants sent goods to Andover. There were Southampton merchants such as Lewys Amys, John Cole, John Gregory, William Gunter, Harry Huttoft, John Kyrkeby senior and junior, Margaret Rake, Thomas Raynold, John Shropshire, and Richard Smyth. From Salisbury came the goods of William Boket, Richard Cherite, and John Halle, all among the leading citizens and merchants of the town. Nearby Winchester produced Thomas Seifster and Thomas Tremayne. Occasionally merchants from far off locations (e.g. London, Evesham,

Bridgwater) disposed of their goods in the town.[20] Traders from Hampshire villages, such as Millbrook, Hursley, Catford, Broughton, Hurstbourne and St Marybourne, also featured. Among the importers of wine were two innkeepers, John Waterman in 1491–2 (28.31v8, 28.5r7)[21] and his counterpart at the New Inn in 1462–3 (14.48r2, 14.57r1).[22] This resilience and economic independence contrasts interestingly with patterns of debt among its citizens, which suggest a very secondary role to the neighbouring much larger town of Winchester. Andover's sphere of influence was much more extensive on the north and west than on the south-east, where it had been pushed back by Winchester.[23] Although the lesser town, Andover was evidently economically independent and flourishing.

Alton

Like Basingstoke, Alton was a long-established town, with a market in 1295 and a fair from 1320.[24] but in the early fourteenth century it was still among the smaller towns of Hampshire.[25] It rose rapidly thereafter and in the 1524–5 subsidy it was a clear fourth in the county after Winchester, Southampton and Basingstoke and was now prominent on a national scale: 58th in population and 67th in wealth.[26] At the heart of this growth was the expansion of the cloth industry. In 1394 Alton was responsible for 1.8% of the county's production, but this had risen (along with Headley, Petersfield and East Meon) to 7.1% by 1466–7, when it was the fourth largest centre.[27] It possessed an active butchering and leather industry and was also on a direct route between Southampton and London.[28]

With the exception of peaks in 1449 and 1540 (22 and 26), trade with Southampton averaged a steady 13.5 carts per year and shows no significant trends. Unlike Basingstoke, Alton saw no obvious growth in the early sixteenth century, probably reflecting the earlier growth of its cloth industry. The greatest of the Alton merchants on the database was John Dier, who was engaged in 38 transactions between 1447–63, almost half of which were in woad. He also traded in a wide range of other goods: alum and madder, fish, wine, raisins, fruit, garlic, onions, iron, salt and oil. He was still one of the main cloth traders in 1466–7.[29] Others such as Richard Boteler (1461–2 – 1478) or Richard Dier (1477–94) also concentrated on woad, while Richard Smyth (1461–3) dealt exclusively in iron. Southampton traders were occasionally involved in the fifteenth century, such as[John] Heyward (1430), Robert Poste (1462–3), Richard Shaut (1477–8) and John Walker (1462–3), but there was a noticeable change in the early sixteenth century, when trade seems increasingly dominated by burgesses of Southampton, such as Thomas Fashyone, William James, Harry Huttoft and John Myles. In particular, they seem to have controlled the wine trade. Other outsiders who traded with the town were two men from Guildford, two from London and three Italians, Gabriel Corbet (1447–8) and Peter and Guglielmo Marini (1447–8, 1492–3),

although all three may be counted as citizens of Southampton.[30] One innkeeper imported his own supply of wine (28.33r10).

The most common product brought from Southampton was wine (68 carts). There was a wide range of goods from bowstaves, cork, wax and household goods to fruit, raisins and garlic. Iron was brought in significant quantities (17). The importance of the cloth industry was clearly evident Dyestuffs made up a high proportion of the total (with 40 carts of woad and 5 carts of alum). In addition there were other materials required by the industry: soap, fullers' earth, wood ashes, canvas. A second noticeable feature was the relatively low level of fish – only 19 carts. This should probably be accounted for by the location of the town. For such basic products, the nearer ports of Portsmouth and Chichester were probably easier to use. This low activity in the Southampton fish market probably also explains its low carts to tax-payer ratio (Fig. 9.1).

Alresford

Alresford was a flourishing small town rather than a regional centre. Founded as a new town at the start of the thirteenth century, acquiring a market in 1200 and a fair in 1202, it was soon well-established and by 1524–5 it ranked as twelfth by population and ninth by wealth within Hampshire.[31] Besides being a local market centre, Alresford possessed a significant cloth industry. In 1394–5 it was responsible for the marketing and production of 1.8% of the county's cloth, placing it on a level with Alton.[32] It remained active thereafter, although not achieving the dramatic growth of Alton and Basingstoke.

Alresford had little direct trade with Southampton until the end of the 1440s, presumably working through the neighbouring and much larger city of Winchester. From 1449 and throughout the later fifteenth century Alresford became more active in the Southampton trade. There was a very marginal fall in trade in the early sixteenth century. Its imports were dominated by wine (56 carts) and fish (35 carts), both items being more important in the second half of the fifteenth century than before and after. There were 18 cartloads of iron, although these were rather erratically spread. The cloth industry was represented by 7 carts of dyestuffs, mainly woad. A range of other goods were sporadically brought, but were probably more commonly purchased at Winchester rather than in the port, such as tar, wax, resin, soap, onions, garlic, raisins, fruit and salt and a mill stone. Some traders like John Bigon in the 1490s dealt in wine, fish and miscellaneous items that mirrored the trading pattern of the town. There was some specialism. In two successive years (1461–3), John Wellys imported wine related to another aspect of his work: he was innkeeper at the New or George Inn in 1461 and 1465 (13.45r10, 14.57r8, 14.81r3).[33] With the exception of some resin, Nicholas Hame in 1538–40 only imported iron, which again may indicate his own specialisation. Ralph Glover (1461–1478) imported a range of goods, but no wine, while

John Goodyer brought in wine and a load of woad in 1539–40, but no fish. John Taperner imported a cartload of wine each year in the 1490s, but nothing else (28.30r4, 29.51r3, 30.17v2).[34] Occasional goods were recorded as sent to Southampton. In 1538–9, two loads of corn were despatched to Southampton for the royal household. That same year and in 1539–40, materials and goods from London were brought by various Southampton men from Alresford (37.5r7, 38.3v7). In 1463, two Guildford men brought wine into Alresford, rather than take it home. There were a few examples of Alresford men trading elsewhere, involving fish and Winchester, all in 1462–3 and 1477–8, except for one load of tar. Christopher Farley who leased the manor in 1476–94, also traded with Southampton, with five consignments of wine and one of herring in the period 1491–4.[35]

Romsey

Romsey was the fifth most populous town in Hampshire in the early sixteenth century. Its role in the brokage books was more prominent, being the second most important destination in the county. It was exceeded only by Salisbury, London and Winchester. It showed, to a lesser extent, some of the features of Salisbury and Winchester. Romsey contained a rich ecclesiastical institution. It was a trading centre for the area beyond and it possessed an important industrial base. Its peak in the Southampton trade was in the 1440s, especially in 1444. Trade fell by almost half by 1462–78, and although it fluctuated thereafter, it dropped further in the 1490s and in the sixteenth century (Fig. 9.2). Romsey possessed one of the longest-standing and third richest monasteries in Hampshire.[36] Some of this wealth was spent in trade and employment in the town. Although the precise date of the Dissolution of the abbey is unclear, it probably occurred in 1538–40 and may account for the further drop in trading activity in the last two years.[37]

Romsey was an important centre for trade to the west, probably acting as the main access to Dorset beyond, with a trade that exceeded that expected from a town of its size. It was the second highest recipient of carts from Southampton in Hampshire and possessed the second highest cart to taxpayer ratio. It was a major centre for wine, fish and dyestuffs, but also attracted a wide range of goods, including luxury fruits, spices and wax, iron and coal and goods needed for the cloth industry.

Romsey was a long-standing cloth centre. It was already the third most important cloth marketing town in Hampshire in the aulnage account of 1394–5, when it produced 6.3% of cloth recorded in the county, and it had grown by 1466–7 when the town had doubled the proportion to 13.6%.[38] It had an important finishing trade. Already in 1394–5, there were five men in the aulnage accounts with the surname of touker (fuller).[39] This industry also appears in the brokage books. In 1441, 1443, 1444, 1446 and 1462 Italian merchants sent cloth from Southampton to Romsey for fulling and dyeing,

thus enhancing the value of the cloth that they were exporting.[40] Romsey was also used as a local centre where cloth could be sent for mending (repairing any flaws in the weaving) as in 1444 and 1445.[41] The town's trade was extensively orientated towards the cloth industry: the dyestuffs, especially woad and madder, oil, teasels, soap and possibly the coal. Unusually for Hampshire, Romsey seems to have concentrated manufacturing exclusively on the broad cloth rather than on kerseys.[42] Major imports of woad in the 1440s fell slightly by the early 1460s, and thereafter were low or erratic.[43] Its prominent role in the Italian trade made it vulnerable to any decline and hence to the fall off in Italian activities in the second half of the fifteenth century. Romsey was a major importer of wine in the 1440s and early 1460s but not thereafter.[44]

Many traded goods beyond the town, as with iron, for which Romsey was an important centre of distribution. John Somerset, who imported both iron and coal, was probably engaged in using the iron for manufactures. In the early period three types of traders can be distinguished. Some concentrated on basic foodstuffs: John Hosier on wine and fish, John Metegeves on fish. Another group focused on dyestuffs and other goods related to the cloth industry, such as William Wythestone, William Hywode, Gregory Dyer, Simon Long, John Bronde and John Brydde. John Bole, mercer and merchant,[45] was responsible for the largest number of cloths marketed in the town in 1466–7.[46] Later the declining importance of the cloth industry changed the range of goods, and the specialist trader in dyestuffs seems to have disappeared. Instead they continued to cater for the cloth industry within a more mixed portfolio. Ludwig Dyer (1477–8) imported iron, but mainly madder and woad. Richard Moleyns (1491–4) concentrated on wine, but also traded in fish, woad and some oil.[47] John Tailor (1461–1478) initially dealt in wine and woad and a miscellaneous collection of goods, yet handled only wine in 1477–8. Although all of these seem to have been exclusively trading with Romsey and seem to have been Romsey men, there was also clear evidence of the activity of Southampton merchants. Among these were Richard Bele (1430–48) who mainly traded with Salisbury, yet had Romsey as a major secondary market. Nicholas Sedgewick (Sedgewyke) concentrated on wine. He had originated in Romsey, but became a citizen of Southampton; later retiring to Romsey. In 1527–8 he traded almost exclusively with Romsey, but in 1438–40, he traded on a much larger scale, Romsey remaining a major market but was now secondary to Salisbury.

Ringwood

Ringwood was a small town in the west of the county, which was the fifth most important trading partner of Southampton. It possessed the lowest bridge over the Salisbury Avon, and thus provided access to Dorset to the west.[48] It imported fish and wine on a large scale. The largest number of carts carried

dyestuffs, above all woad, recalling the importance of the cloth-producing areas of Dorset, Somerset and Devon. While Ringwood served as a market for distribution, this did not apply to iron. Probably few carts of these goods were for local consumption. The town's Southampton trade occurred predominantly in the early part of the period up to 1478. Its trade was low thereafter, with only a few carts per year (Fig. 8.2). Fordingbridge, another crossing point, (38 carts) seems to have fulfilled a similar market role, but on a smaller scale.

Wiltshire

Marlborough

Marlborough was a long-established town which in the course of the fifteenth century overtook Wilton as the second most populous and important town. It was already a significant industrial centre in the later fourteenth century, although it was then the leather industry that was more important than cloth.[49] Marlborough's cloth industry subsequently grew. It generated as group of wealthy merchants in the town and its hinterland. Marlborough was part of the expanding cloth industry of the Thames valley, along with Newbury and Reading. Although it was still not specified in the 1414–5 aulnage account, this had changed by 1466–7 when, with Devizes, it was responsible for 7.4% of the county's production and marketing. Like Basingstoke it probably continued to grow into the sixteenth century.[50]

	a) No. of carts (1430–1540)	b) Taxpayers 1377	c) Taxpayers 1524–5	d) Wealth 1524–5	a–c) Cart per taxpayer 1524–5
Amesbury			76	£25	
Bradford	12	237	40	£6.75	0.3
Devizes	62	302	97	£49.6	0.6
Malmesbury	13	402	75	£11.8	0.2
Marlborough	84	543	237	£85.1	0.4
Wilton	73	639		£31.4	
Salisbury	1576	3226		£405	5.2

Source: Sheail, *The Regional Distribution of Wealth* (1988), 370–88; M. Beresford, 'Poll Tax Payers of 1377', in *PCH Wilts.* iv. 306–311.

Figure 9.5: The main small towns of Wiltshire trading with Southampton.

	1431	1440	1444	1448	1449	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1528	1539	1540
Marlborough	0	2	17	12	2	8	1	5	6	11	22	3	1
Wilton	1	10	25	49	37	1	1	0	0	1	6	1	0
Devizes	1	5	0	1	1	3	8	13	9	9	0	0	0
Malmesbury	0	0	0	0	0	7	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
Salisbury	23	487	861	784	605	510	452	297	340	391	395	323	400

Figure 9.6: Annual trade of main small towns of Wiltshire (by carts). Dated by end of account.

	Wine	Fish (total)	Fish (herring)	Dyestuffs	Woad	Iron
Marlborough	37	54	20	5	5	1
Wilton	25	15	12	18	16	7*
Devizes	40	19	10	15	9	2
Malmesbury	11	0	0	16	11	0

* all in 1430–1.

Figure 9.7: Main goods sent to the small towns of Wiltshire (by carts).

Marlborough regularly figured among the recipients of goods from Southampton. This trade peaked dramatically in particular years: in 1444, 1448 and 1528–9 (Fig. 9.5). The trade was dominated by fish, with wine also imported on a large scale. The miscellaneous goods included occasional examples of woad. Its merchants traded elsewhere and with outsiders bringing fish and wine into the town. Marlborough merchants took fish to Broughton, Wantage and Newbury and a cart of woad to Salisbury, while such Southampton merchants as John Percher and Harry Clarke, brought in fish and wine particularly in 1527–8. There were single carts from Wallingford, London and Winchester. Among the leading figures, Richard Bedeway traded in fish in 1461–2 and wine in 1477–8. While John Martyne (Marmyne) traded mainly wine, he also brought in floor tiles, woad and dredge.

Wilton

Historically Wilton was an important town, but it is peculiar as a town in the immediate hinterland of Salisbury which nevertheless remained an important market for Southampton goods at the start of our period. Despite the competition of Salisbury, Wilton had retained its position as the second most important town in the county in 1377, but lost this to Marlborough in the course of the later Middle Ages. Wilton seems to have been declining in the fifteenth century.[51] Its decline may be observed in the brokage books, where it remained important in the 1440s but thereafter collapsed. In the 1440s it had averaged 30 carts per year, but after this, it was only one a year. A noticeable feature of these apparently prosperous years was the domination of two figures, John Seward and Margery Hill. Together they were responsible for 47 out of 58 transactions or 81% of the total in 1443–4 and 1447–8. Their prominence perhaps marks the end of an older pattern in which Wilton had been more important than it was to be. John was a leading figure in the town, being steward to the merchant guild in 1441–2 and 1442–3 and mayor in 1446–7 and 1457.[52] He traded mainly in fish and wine (as did Richard Seward in 1444), but with occasional other goods such as fruit and tallow. One curiosity occurred in 1448, when he traded in wheat, importing 62 qtrs of wheat in 9 transactions. Why this was needed in a prosperous agricultural area is not clear. Margery showed a very different pattern of trade. She had presumably inherited the business from her husband, but remained a substantial trader for almost two decades, from 1440–63, occasionally taking

goods to Salisbury. She can be found importing wine and fish, and occasional fruit or almonds, but she concentrated almost completely on goods for the cloth industry: woad, alum, madder, soap and oil. She imported woad on a large scale (24, 30, 46 and 52 balettes in four years in the 1440s).

Devizes

Devizes was a new town in the twelfth century that became well established as a trade and marketing centre. In 1379 leather and cloth were the two main industries. By 1414–5, Devizes was a separate item in the aulnage accounts responsible for 7.5% of the county's cloth, and handled 7.4% with Marlborough in 1466–7.[53] Unusually, its clothiers are found on several occasions exporting cloth directly to Southampton (mainly from 1477–8 until 1490s) as did John Tailor (5), John Raynold (4), William Cuff (1) and Thomas Griffyn (1). These cloths were usually specified as bastards, the undyed broad cloth for which the town was well known. In the 1540s Leland commented that 'most of its inhabitants are involved in clothmaking'.[54]

Early on Devizes rarely traded direct with Southampton, most of its merchants selling their goods in Salisbury. In1430–1, 1447–8, 1461–2 and 1462–3 Devizes merchants took several carts of goods each year from Southampton for sale at Salisbury, mainly of wine. This seems to have been much less frequent later, with only occasional examples in 1477–8, 1491–2 and 1527–8. Devizes became more active in the direct trade in the later fifteenth century, perhaps because Salisbury was less often used as an intermediate market. Devizes seems to have ceased direct transactions with Southampton in the early sixteenth century, probably because of the growing hegemony of London over the cloth industry and particularly of the undyed broad cloth that dominated the town's trade.

The main item of commerce was wine (40 carts), followed by fish (19), and a substantial import of dyestuffs, woad (9) and madder (6). William Coventry who figured in the 1440 brokage book, was a member of a rich family in the town.[55] John Coventry supplied large quantities of cloth to Venetians in London.[56] John Raynold who supplied cloth to Southampton was active from 1461–2 to 1491–2, and traded mainly in wine. A William Raynold had been the largest clothier in Devizes and Marlborough in the aulnage of 1466–7. John Taylor, active from 1477–92 traded in a range of goods, including oil, soap and teasels for the cloth industry.

Malmesbury

Malmesbury was an important regional centre in the north of the county and home to a major Anglo-Saxon monastic foundation. There seems to have no significant cloth industry in 1379, but this changed in the fifteenth century. Malmesbury was already linked with the well-known Castle Combe as one of

the five centres of cloth marketing in the county by 1466–7, when together they were responsible for 14.3% of the county's cloth. Subsequently it became part of a booming industry in the sixteenth century when Thomas Stumpe, an 'exceptionally rich clothier', converted some of the massive buildings of the dissolved abbey into rooms full of weaving looms.[57]

Geographically Malmesbury was closer to the major port of Bristol. Usually it did not trade at all with Southampton. The exception was a short period in the 1460s and 1470s. This probably accounts for the unusual breakdown of goods involved. Dyestuffs constituted the main items of trade, with 11 carts of woad and 5 of alum. Wine made up the other 11 cartloads, all in 1461–2 and 1462–3 coinciding with a collapse in Bristol's wine trade.[58] There were no fish, so often the staple of trading activities, which were was probably supplied from Bristol. The key figure was Thomas Snethe, one of the most important traders in cloth in Castle Combe and Malmesbury in 1466–7. Perhaps this direct trade from Southampton represented the impact of one individual rather than a more widespread shift in policy.[59]

Bradford-on-Avon and the Small Cloth Towns of West Wiltshire and East Somerset

These were small towns generally involved in the cloth industry. Since the county boundary had little significance for the cloth producing area of west Wiltshire and eastern Somerset, the small towns of this area are treated together. They exported cloth through Southampton, but initially tended to bring back goods to Salisbury rather than to their own consumers.[60]

Bradford was a small town which early became a cloth-producing centre. Although in 1379 it had a significant leather industry, cloth production was already more important, and the town and the area around, the hundred of Bradford, were separately assessed as a marketing area in 1466–7, when its two major players were James Touker or Terumber or James of Bradford, and William Stowford.[61] In the 1540s, Leland commented that 'the town's entire economy depends on clothmaking'.[62] Terumber provides an interesting example of the marketing decisions. He traded with Southampton and bought goods in return. But while in 1443–4 he took these to Salisbury for sale, in 1447–8 he took these back to Bradford.[63] In 1461–2, John Vyner brought 61% of his woad back to Bradford and disposed of the rest in the Salisbury market, but in 1462–3 he sent all his woad to Bradford.[64] This may have represented a tendency to bypass Salisbury in the mid-century years. William Stowford, clothier of Bradford and Trowbridge, brought back wine and woad for nearby Trowbridge, in 1466, and in 1461–2 Richard Wyke, a clothier from Trowbridge, sent his 29 balettes of woad to Bradford (13.52v6).[65] Beyond these small towns lay areas of rural activity. Thus in 1477–8, amongst the cloth being brought into Southampton were three loads from John Horton, a leading clothier from the small manor of Westwood (22.2v1, 22.12v10 and

23.3v10).

Further west were the small towns of East Somerset. Chronologically the small towns on either side of the county boundary show an interesting and evolving pattern of trade. In the 1440s, only Frome and to a lesser extent Warminster traded directly with Southampton: instead their merchants sold their goods in Salisbury. A good example of this is provided by Thomas Ede of Bruton. He was a wealthy and large-scale trader, regularly and unusually described in the 1439–40 brokage book as merchant, and responsible for 56 transactions in the period 1439–63. But with the exception of a group of 11 transactions to Fordingbridge (Hants.) in 1439–40 and a single load of woad in 1462–3 to Bruton, the only transaction that year (14.10v10), all goods went to Salisbury. He was exclusively involved in trading dyestuffs, alum, and other goods for the cloth industry in 1439–40, and largely so in 1447–8, when he branched out with several carts of wine and other miscellaneous goods.[66] But this pattern was transformed in the 1460s. Despite a reduction in Frome's trade, the number of carts going direct to these towns rose from an average of 15 to 44 in 1461–62 (Fig. 9.8). This did not last and fell to 6 in the last quarter of the century and ceased in the sixteenth century.

	1431	1440	1444	1448	1449	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1528	1539	1540
Bruton			0	0	1	6	3	0	0	?	0	0	0
Mells	0	0	2	0	1	1	2	3	8	0	0	0	0
Frome	0	16	15	7	8	6	6	0	1	1	0	0	0
Langport	0	0	0	0	0	3	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leigh upon Mendip	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shepton Mallet	0	0	0	0	2	20	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
Bradford	0	0	0	*	0	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Warminster	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	22	17	7	12	46	41	7	9	3	0	0	0

Sources: Coleman, *1443–44*; Harwood, Trade, 145. Dating by close of the accounting year.

*Figure 9.8: Annual trade of main small towns of East Somerset and West Wiltshire (by carts). * on horse.*

	Wine	Fish (total)	Fish (herring)	Dyestuffs	Woad	Iron
Bruton	4	0	0	10	10	0
Mells	0	0	0	4	4	0
Frome	9	0	2	29	22	0
Langport	1	0	0	18	18	0
Leigh upon Mendip	0	0	0	12	10	0
Shepton Mallet	2	0	0	22	22	0
Total	7	2	2	86	81	0

Figure 9.9: Main goods sent to the small towns of East Somerset (by carts).

Secondly the nature of the products deserves comments. These towns imported little wine or fish, presumably choosing instead to purchase them in Salisbury or Bristol. It was dyestuffs and above all woad that were brought direct from Southampton to these towns, and above all in 1460s. An important economic change in policy had occurred.

Conclusion

The brokage books provide a unique picture of late medieval inland trade, both over a century as a whole and of the fluctuating fortunes within that period. Hampshire and Wiltshire, the counties of Southampton's immediate hinterland, were dominated by the two county towns of Winchester and Salisbury, but they also exhibited clear differences. The marketing needs of Hampshire were more evenly distributed between Winchester and a ring of smaller towns around the county. Salisbury overwhelmingly dominated the trade of its county. In part this contrast may result from the greater scale of Salisbury compared with Winchester, in part from problems of distance. The closer proximity of the Hampshire towns made it easier for their merchants to trade directly with Southampton. The brokage books show something of how goods imported into the port found their way into the market both through the great cities and through the smaller towns. Such trading patterns were also determined by short term fluctuations, by growth and recession, by the withdrawal of the Italian ships and their specialist cargoes from Southampton, and by the loss of Salisbury's dominance during the recession of the later fifteenth century. Trade was also shaped by economic developments within the area, such as the rise of Basingstoke and the decline of Romsey.

Notes

1 Comments based on the database can be referenced from the database itself and the date concerned. Only references to an individual specific reference are given. All years are based on the accounting year, not the calendar year.
2 On the hierarchy of towns in the county, see Hare, *Prospering Society*, 159–64.
3 M. Brayshay 'The Royal Post-Horse Routes of Hampshire in the Reign of Elizabeth I', *PHFC* 48 (1992), 123.
4 For an interim account of work on Basingstoke currently still in progress see, J. Hare, 'Church Building and Urban Prosperity on the Eve of the Reformation: Basingstoke and its Parish Church', *PHFC* 62 (2007), 185–191; For the fair, see S. Letters, *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*, List and Index Society (Kew, 2003) 151.
5 A. Dyer, 'Ranking Lists of English Medieval Towns', *CUHB*, 762, 766.
6 Keene, *Survey*, i.316.
7 TNA E 101/344/17 m18.
8 HRO 148M71/2/7/4/7 /9/18 /19.
9 For John Kingesmyll in 1491, one of the town's millers, see HRO 148/2/7/9.
10 See J. Hare, 'Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England (1350–1600)', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), 91.
11 Hare 'Inns, Innkeepers', 92–3.
12 On medieval Andover see also Hare, 'Winchester College and the Angel Inn, Andover: a Fifteenth-Century Landlord and its Investments', *PHFC* 60 (2005). 190–2.
13 Letters, *Gazetteer* 151.
14 Brayshay 'Royal Post-Horse Routes', 123.
15 Hare 'Regional Prosperity in Fifteenth-Century England: Some Evidence from Wessex', *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Woodbridge 2001), 115; TNA E 101/344/17.

16 See the map of debt entries in Keene, *Survey*, i. 316; Dyer, 'Small Towns', *CUHB*, 520.
17 Hare, 'Winchester College', 187–90.
18 *Ibid*. 190.
19 Coleman, *1443–44*, 120.
20 It is not clear whether the reference to Yarmouth refers to Norfolk or the Isle of Wight.
21 Innkeeper at the Angel 1467–93, see Hare, 'Winchester College', 191.
22 Database; probably the Angel. On Andover's inns and inn keepers, see Hare 'Winchester College'; Hare, 'Inns', 90, 93–4.
23 Dyer, Small Towns' 520.
24 Letters, *Gazetteer*, 151 who suggests uncertainty about the 1295 date.
25 On the early history of the town see M. Page, 'The Origins of Towns in Medieval Hampshire: the Case of Alton', *PHFC* 60 (2005), 172–3; *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. R. E. Glasscock (London, 1975).
26 Dyer, 'Ranking Lists', 762, 766.
27 TNA E 101/344/17.
28 HRO 4M51/14, /23, /25; Brayshay, 'Royal Post-Horse Routes', 122–6.
29 His total of 62 kerseys was exceeded only by Robert Placy. His next rival was William Haker with only 28: TNA E 101/344/17.
30 Corbet was a naturalised Venetian, with letters of denization in 1431, who lived in Southampton for the next 30 years and became a prominent citizen there: Ruddock, 160–1. On the Marini see Ruddock, 233–254.
31 On Alresford see M. Beresford, 'The Six New Towns of the Bishops of Winchester, 1200–55', *Medieval Archaeology* III (1959), 190–3; E. Roberts, 'Alresford Pond, a Medieval Canal Reservoir: A Tradition Reassessed', *PHFC* 41 (1984), 127–37; E. Roberts, 'Medieval Alresford Revisited', *PHFC* 43 (1987), 255–61; Letters, *Gazetteer*, 151.
32 Keene, *Winchester*, i. 316.
33 W[inchester] C[ollege] M[uniments] 1856–9.
34 His father (?), John Taperner (WCM 1860–5) had leased the Winchester College Inn, but this had ceased in 1472 (WCM 1866).
35 WCM 1876–87.
36 J. Hare, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries in Hampshire*, Hampshire Paper 16 (1999), 2, based on *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ed. J. Caley and J. C. Hunter (1810–34), II.
37 H. G. D. Liveing, *Records of Romsey Abbey* (Winchester, 1912). 250–4.
38 Hare, 'Regional Prosperity', 115.
39 *The History of Romsey*, ed. B. Burbridge (Romsey, 2000).
40 Coleman *1443–4*, xxvi.
41 *Ibid*.
42 TNA E 101/344/17
43 Coleman, *1443–4*, 322–4.
44 *Ibid*., 325–7.
45 William Boler was a fuller.
46 TNA E 101/344/17. William Heywod also marketed but on a much smaller scale.
47 William Moleyns was a dyer (Living, *Records of Romsey Abbey*, 183).
48 Leland, *Itinerary*, 495.
49 Hare, *Prospering Society*, 166.
50 TNA E 101/345/9; Hare, *Prospering Society*, 188.
51 M. K. James, 'The Borough of Wilton', in VCH *Wilts*. vi. 12–16.
52 Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, G25/1/88. Thomas Frye was also steward in 1446–7.
53 Hare, *Prospering Society*, 166, 181.
54 Leland, *Itinerary*, 601.
55 William had founded a chantry and its endowment of 24 tenements was required to

produce an annual payment of £1.13.4d for 4 almswomen, R. B. Pugh, *A History of Devizes* (Trowbridge 2001, repr.from VCH *Wilts*, 10, 1975), 236 and 180. On the Coventries in general, see *ibid*., 179–80, 236–7 and 254.

56 Coleman, *1443–44*, xxxv.

57 Hare, *Prospering Society*, 181, 185–7, 189.

58 James, *Wine Trade*, 113–4.

59 He was 8th highest out of the 45 who paid aulnage: TNA E 101/345/9.

60 Hare, *Prospering Society*, 176–194; on the cloth industry of Somerset see J. Hare, 'Pensford and the Growth of the Cloth Industry in Late Medieval Somerset', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 147 (2003), 173–80.

61 Hare, *Prospering Society*, 166, 181, 184–5, 189.

62 Leland, *Itinerary*, 491.

63 Coleman, *1443–4*, 303–5; database.

64 Later in 1466–7 a William Wynere was an important producer in the aulnage accounts: TNA E101/345/9.

65 Southampton Civic Archives SC5/5/6.

66 His Fordingbridge entries showed a similar, but exclusive concentration on cloth.

Chapter 10

SOUTHAMPTON'S TRADING PARTNERS: BEYOND HAMPSHIRE AND WILTSHIRE[1]

John Hare

Most of Southampton's inland traffic was in the immediate hinterland of Southampton and was treated in Chapters 5, 6, 8 and 9. Hampshire and Wiltshire accounted for 54% of the total number of carts.[2] In general, greater distance from the port reduced the amount of overland trade. There was little trade along the south coast, where water-transport was convenient, but trade continued further northwards where there was less easy access from the sea. Patterns of trade were also influenced by the nature of the products. Small-mass high-value products tended to be traded further overland. There came a point where fish (but not wine) stopped being carried and another point where transporting wine overland ceased to be economical, whereas dyestuffs and spices were traded further afield. Such patterns were also influenced by the extent to which Southampton was trading goods not otherwise available. This encouraged long-distance trade in, for example, woad rather than fish.

The South-West

This was an area of little activity in the brokage books. Ships accessed other ports along the south coast and goods were transported by coastal shipping. This apparent absence of traffic overland is emphasised by only a single record on the database of a cart being sent to Devon and Cornwall (to Honiton). Since West Country fish and tin reached Southampton, it is unlikely that the boats returned empty-handed. The only counties where there was any significant trade were Dorset and Somerset. Dorset was in part served by Salisbury, as well as probably via Ringwood and Romsey and to a lesser extent via Fordingbridge, so that its activity is considerably under-assessed in the brokage books. Chapter 9 treats East Somerset as part of the clothing area of western Wiltshire, but there was some extra trade further westwards to towns like Taunton (10 carts) and Bridgwater (19 carts: 11 of woad), both

towns active in the cloth industry. The largest destinations in Dorset were Wimborne Minster, with 40 carts, and Sherborne, the two main commodities being woad and wine. Shaftesbury with 36.5 carts in contrast did attract a wider range of goods, yet was overwhelmingly dominated by wine and revealed little association with the cloth industry.

The South-East

Here again the coastal trade offered direct access for fish and a means of distributing goods from Southampton. There are occasional stray references to goods sent to various places, as with a cart of wine and one of iron sent to Battle (Sussex), but these do not provide any indication of regular trade. South of the Thames there are only two places where a significant number of carts were sent, Farnham with 63 carts chiefly of woad and wine and Guildford with 25, chiefly of wine. Only one cart of fishes went to Farnham, none to Guildford. Both places were distant from the Solent (and closer to other ports). Fish could be brought into any port, whereas wine was focussed on fewer ports of which Southampton was an obvious example. Both Farnham and Guildford were on the way to London, Farnham being a centre of cloth production,[3] and Guildford a major distribution centre.[4]

Bristol, Gloucester and the Cotswolds (Figs 10.1, 10.2)

Bristol

Bristol was the seventh most important trader with Southampton. This might not at first sight warrant further comment. It was after all the third most populous town in England in 1377 and the third in wealth and population in 1524–5.[5] But it was an important port that looked to some of the same shipping routes as did Southampton. Both could easily, and did, trade with Gascony and Spain.[6] But two factors encouraged the involvement of Bristol with the trade of Southampton. Bristol was a major centre of cloth production and marketing, both manufacturing cloth in the town and trading the cloth produced in the surrounding countryside of Somerset and Gloucestershire.[7] Although Bristol exported a great deal of cloth itself, its merchants are also found exporting through Southampton, where they could sell their cloth to the large-scale Italian merchants, and in return buy Mediterranean luxuries and necessities. Robert Sturmy, the Bristol merchant who with others sought disastrously to break into the Mediterranean trade in 1457, traded in 1447–8 with six journeys of wine and one of alum, while other merchants of the city included George Dentivas, alien, 1479–80, and Thomas Burton and Thomas Taylour in 1439.[8] Such merchants might then sell their purchases in Salisbury or take them back to Bristol. Thus in 19–23 October 1448, Nicholas Lange of Bristol sent 9 carts from Southampton to Salisbury loaded with alum, woad,

madder, and wine, but in addition he sent six waggons or wains to Bristol itself with a variety of goods – wine, raisins, black soap, alum, almonds and wax. The use of different vehicles for the goods he took back to Bristol was probably significant.[9] He also traded to both towns in 1447–8, although possibly only to Salisbury in his smaller trade of 1443–4.[10] Most of the goods of Bristol traders were sold in Salisbury: it was the means of converting the goods that they had received in return for cloth into cash or internal credit. Moses Contarini, a former 'Gascon and merchant of Bordeaux', traded both through Salisbury and direct to Bristol from 1451–78.[11] His overland trade was almost exclusively of wine and woad together with occasional other goods (bowstaves, raisins of Corinth and alum). He exported cloth through Bristol, and Bridgwater and traded with Andalusia and Bordeaux. On one occasion, his use of Southampton was documented, bringing cloth into the port.[12]

The vast bulk of goods which completed the journey to Bristol were, as with Contarini, of wine (158 carts) and to a lesser extent woad (contained in 14 carts). Why Bristol should import so much wine is unclear, but it may be that some of the unspecified wine represented specifically Mediterranean wines, not obtainable directly in Bristol. Her imports through Southampton also included some of the more exotic goods, such as spices, that were probably unavailable to the normal Bristol trade. The Southampton-Bristol trade seems to have been at its peak in 1460s and 1490s, but had disappeared by the early sixteenth century. The rise in this trade in 1460s and 1490s seems to have been largely the product of an increase in the wine trade from Southampton. In the 1460s, this growth coincided with a dramatic fall in direct imports through Bristol, which halved between 1450–56, a fall maintained in 1460–5.[13] By contrast and not surprisingly, fish were rarely taken to Bristol, which had direct access to the fishing fleets of the South-West, Ireland and Norway and Iceland.[14]

Gloucester

Gloucester was also an important town, eighteenth by population and nineteenth by wealth in 1524–5.[15] It was a religious and governmental centre, important as a manufacturer of cloth, leather and clothing, and a centre of communications, above all as a major access point into Wales.[16] It was the commercial centre of a prosperous area between Bristol and Worcester, with the rich grain fields of the Severn valley, the sheep flocks of the Cotswolds and neighbouring industries of cloth and iron production. It was the market for agricultural surplus of the area around and specialised in distributing luxury goods to the nobility and gentry of the county.[17] It was the centre of distribution for goods that came from nearby Bristol, far off London for luxuries, as well as from Southampton.[18] The bulk of its imports from Southampton were of wine and to a lesser extent of woad. It shared various

features with Bristol, the major port that dominated this lesser town, but there were also differences. Southampton's trade with Gloucester was at its peak in the 1440s, that at Bristol from 1448–93. Gloucester imported over twice as much woad as Bristol (although the latter probably imported woad direct from Gascony). Neither imported significant quantities of fish from Southampton. The sea was too close. In both cases the overland trade from Southampton collapsed in the sixteenth century. Gloucester's main trading hinterland included a group of market towns within 20 miles of the city, but of these only Cirencester possessed an independent trading pattern with Southampton (Figs 10.1, 10.2).[19]

Cotswold Towns

Of the smaller towns of the Cotswolds, some were the occasional recipients of trade from Southampton, but two, Cirencester and Burford warrant further mention showing both elements of similarity and contrast.[20] With the exception of a peak in 1462, Cirencester seemed fairly consistent in its trade with about four carts per year, but this completely ceased in the sixteenth century, following the lead of the larger towns of the area, Gloucester and Bristol. In Burford, by contrast, the Southampton trade seems to have been at its greatest in the 1440s. Subsequently the trade seems to have been lower and more erratic, ranging from two years of six carts to three of none. Here the trade continued into the sixteenth century. Cirencester's trade with Southampton was dominated by wine with some dyestuffs but no fish. It reflected on a smaller scale the trade of Bristol, although without the special exotic specialities that found their way to the latter town. By contrast at Burford, almost half the journeys were of wine, with more dyestuffs and a substantial quantity of fish.

	1431	1440	1444	1448	1449	1462	1465	1478	1492	1493	1528	1559	1540
Bristol	0	2	3	10	21	55	29	15.5	25	34	0	0	1
Gloucester	2	27	24	32	20	13	15	3	17	24	0	0	0
Burford	1	7	9	12	8	0	2	6	1	0	6	0	0
Cirencester	0	4	?	6	4	11	4	?	0.5	3	0	0	0

Figure 10.1: Annual trade of selected towns: by carts: Bristol, Gloucester and the Cotswolds.

	Wine	Fish (total)	Fish (herring)	Dyestuffs	Woad	Iron
Bristol	158	0	0	25	14	0
Gloucester	121	3	3	46	34	0
Burford	20	6	3	7	6	0
Cirencester	25.5	0	0	4	4	0

Fig. 10.2: Selected towns trading with Southampton (by carts): Bristol, Gloucester and the Cotswolds.

Newbury, Berkshire and Oxfordshire (Figs 10.3, 10.4)

Of the towns of this area, Newbury traded most with Southampton. It had for long been a major town and market within Berkshire.[21] It had suffered relative decline in the later fourteenth century and then recovery and exceptional growth in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. By 1524–5 it ranked high nationally: 34th for population and 25th for wealth. While locally it remained an important market town, the key to its late medieval expansion lay in the cloth industry. Although this had long existed, it grew rapidly in the fifteenth century. By 1470 Newbury was producing 15–20% of the county's cloth. It possessed a dye house in 1460s.[22] In the sixteenth century, it became a boom town, well known nationally and internationally through the names of such great cloth merchants as John Winchcombe and Thomas Dolman.[23] Winchcombe was exceptional in the scale of his activities. He serves as a indicator of the massive scale of cloth production in the town and its hinterland. In 3 years (1546–9) Thomas Gresham, the London merchant, bought an annual average of 1,200 of Winchcombe's cloth and in 1539 Thomas Cromwell had ordered 1,000 kersies from him. His cloths were well known in Antwerp. His reputation and his centralised cloth production were highlighted in a contemporary poem.[24]

Newbury

Newbury was one of the most important towns in Southampton's trade. With 440 carts on the database, it was the fifth most common overland destination. Its trade seems to reflect the fortunes of its cloth industry. Its prominence was already established by the 1440s, its fortunes fluctuated in the later fifteenth century (with some low years in 1462, 1463 and 1492), but then it became much more active in the early sixteenth century. The dramatic rise in the cloth industry in the sixteenth century is reflected in the rapid growth in the town's trade with Southampton. This was particularly noticeable in woad, hitherto not a dominant element in its trade, the largest amount being nine cartloads in 1477–8 and the next five in 1528 (Fig. 10.3). It may be that the town acquired much of its dyestuffs from London, which was similarly distant. In 1534–5 Newbury's imports rose to 381 balettes and in the three years 1537–40 it averaged 842 balettes. The town was acquiring a dominant hold on the woad market through Southampton, with a 78.2% share in 1539 and 60.4% in 1540.[25] Newbury had become a massive producer and marketer of cloth, with clothiers rich enough to be able to make deals with the court and to control the import of woad. This late boom helped make Newbury into the fifth largest consumer of woad in the database.

Newbury was exceptional in the amount of cloth carried thence into Southampton. The figures for imports are particularly difficult to assess,[26] but Newbury has the third largest number of consignments (35). There are enough to show something of the interests of the townsmen. Of the 96 entries, 36 provide the names of owners, and include 18 individuals. Cloth was the main

item conveyed to Southampton, of which over half were kerseys and the rest unspecified cloth. But the list also shows something of the wider range of economic pursuits of the town and its hinterland.[27] Here were 20 consignments of wool, 17 of corn and 4 of malt, 13 of hides and leather and one each of bricks, wood ash and of lime. Among the 18 traders bringing goods into the port were a Venetian (Priuli) (13–47 r1), a Genoese (Spinola) (22–2v10), and a Londoner (Gressame, probably Gresham, 37–85r3).[28]

	1431	1440	1444	1448	1449	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1528	1539	1540
Newbury	1	17	39	39	30	14	16	46	14	26	75	116	80
Abingdon	0	4	26	3	10	5	8	18	10	12	9	0	2
Reading	0	25	26	19	6	9	26	7	6	11	0	1	0
Hungerford	0	0	4	11	6	0	1	4	5	10	2	9	6
Wantage	0	0	6	3	2	2	1	3	0	5	2	3	0
Oxford	1	30	54	30	23	8	23	11	20	15	19	2	4

Figure 10.3: Annual trade of Newbury and its hinterland: by carts.

	Wine	Fish (total)	Fish (herring)	Dyestuffs	Woad	Iron
Newbury (i)	127	219	69	191	181	21
Newbury (ii) (1528–40)	53	90	53	165	159	14
Newbury (ii) as % of (i)	41	41	54	86	88	67
Abingdon	44	19	7	6	3	4
Reading	75	0	0	22	14	2
Hungerford	19	18	14	4	3	9
Wantage	13	9	3	0	0	0
Oxford	143	1	1	17	8	2

Figure 10.4: Newbury and its hinterland (by number of carts).

The main products initially brought into the town were wine and fish, catering both for the growing town and for the area around. Among those regularly involved in the cloth industry in the aulnage accounts were John Docket and John Croke.[29] Docket (Doget) traded in 1430–40 in woad, wine and oil, and cloth; he also made occasional trips to Salisbury and Andover in 1430–1. Croke traded from 1430–78, with a peak of 24 transactions in 1447–8, reflecting the town's general trade: fish, wine, wool, spices, oil and tar.[30] Both Croke and Doket were important in the local community and government.[31]

The record of goods sent to Newbury emphasise the prominence of Southampton merchants in this trade. This may have been particularly the case in the wine industry, as with John Bonham in 1430–1, Thomas Raynold in 1461–93, or the naturalised Italians Christopher Ambrose in 1477–93 (although he was also documented for fish, oil and kerseys), and Gabriel Corbet (1430–1). The importance of the Southampton merchants also became more apparent as Newbury's market grew in the sixteenth century. Robert Devenes sent 22 consignments of fish and 4 of wine and some oranges in 1527–8. Other Southampton merchants included Master Burgus (Byrges), William Gryte, Henry Huttofft and, Thomas Bekyngham. But the most spectacular involvement was of [Robert] Ronanger and [Thomas] Bore, who

with John Winchcombe almost monopolised the woad trade in 1538–40, when most of Southampton's woad went to Newbury. Two Londoners are recorded as trading to the town, John Sochyn with iron in 1491–2, and John Stockys with woad and fish in 1461–2, and woad in 1443–4.[32]

Reading

Like Newbury, Reading was an important cloth-producing town, but ranked substantially higher than Newbury in 1524–5 (21st in population, 12th in wealth). Its closer proximity to London probably accounted for its lesser importance in Southampton's trade. This had declined in the latter part of the fifteenth century and virtually disappeared in the sixteenth century. Too distant from Southampton and too close to London meant that bulk goods were not involved, there was little iron and no fish, and that dyestuffs and substantial quantities of wine were carried.

Abingdon, Hungerford and Wantage

Of the neighbouring towns of west Berkshire, Abingdon was the destination for 75 carts. It possessed a well-established cloth industry (but unlike Newbury, not one which greatly expanded), and a rich abbey. There were occasional journeys that reflected the cloth industry, but cargoes were more commonly of fish and above all of wine. The latter, and the varied spices, probably reflect the demand of the abbey rather than of industry in determining Abingdon's trade. Hungerford had 50 cart destinations. Although most were for wine or fish, there were occasional carts of dyestuffs, and it may have benefitted from the flourishing cloth industry of the Kennet valley, from Newbury to Marlborough. Wantage with its 19 carts was also dominated by wine and fish. Its only other goods involved no more than a single load throughout the database.

Oxford

Oxford was a much larger and wealthier town than Newbury, with a ranking in 1524–5 of 20th for population and 30th for wealth.[33] Like Reading, its distance and location meant that there was virtually no iron or fish carried from Southampton, but a great deal of wine, and a substantial range of spices. Oxford had already become a centre of consumption rather than of industry. There were some dyestuffs, but in general the cloth industry of the town was in decline. Although it showed a familiar intermittent signs of difficulty in the later fifteenth century, it did not recover. The figures for 1538–40 suggest that trade with Southampton was negligible. Its trade would now be dominated by London.[34]

Coventry and the Midlands

Coventry was one of the most important towns in the kingdom, ranked at 7th by population and 5th by wealth in 1524–5. It was the regional capital of the midlands, 'uniting the various urban networks',[35] and it was a key player in Southampton's trade. 'As far as the Brokage Books are concerned', wrote Coleman, 'the Midlands means Coventry'.[36] Southampton was merely one of Coventry's four major outlets for the sea and international markets beyond.[37] The fortunes of Coventry's trade depended as much on London, Bristol and Chester as on Southampton. 30% or more of Coventry's workers were occupied in textiles and clothing.[38] It was at the peak of its prosperity in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, yet the decline in loans shows it was already running into difficulties in the 1430s. After the mid-century recession from the 1430s to 1470s, a temporary revival in the 1490s was based on a booming specialisation in the cap industry before an economic and demographic crisis in the 1520s.[39] This chronology emerges partially in the brokage books. Southampton's trade with Coventry was at its height in the early 1440s, less active from 1447–78, sharply lower again in 1491–1528, and became non-existent thereafter (Fig. 10.5). What is unclear is how this should be explained. Falling rents, particularly after the 1450s, indicate decline.[40] Perhaps Coventry became unduly dependent on textiles and its Southampton trade was hit by the growing emphasis on the domestic rather than the foreign market. The town and its exports were also hit by the growing reorientation of its trade towards London. This was already occurring in the early fifteenth century, as citizens turned increasingly to London in order to borrow. While the mid-century saw a reduction in the scale of loans, when recovery occurred Coventry remained dependent on London.[41] Coventry's trade with Southampton was small in the 1490s and virtually not existent in the early sixteenth century. Its shrinking demands from Southampton were probably counter balanced by a greater movement of goods from London.

The main item of Coventry's trade was dyestuffs and particularly woad. Wine was significant but not high, on a par with a small Wessex town. No fish were sent: there were more accessible sources. Woad was the major item and, for most of the period, Coventry provided the fourth largest market for Southampton woad, with 6.6% of the total before 1478 (see Fig. 15.4). A merchant like William Pere, a Coventry draper, was regularly active in the Southampton trade from 1439–63, running up considerable debts with Genoese merchants who sued him for £85 in 1441.[42] As a major cloth producing city, famous for the Coventry blue, Coventry was an important centre for the use and distribution of dyestuffs. But the decline of this trade was evident: its peak was in the early 1440s and it fell to a lower level in the period 1447–78. The last recorded dispatch of woad to Coventry in the database was in 1478, for madder it was 1463, and for alum in 1478. Although Coventry had been a substantial market for alum, and was the fourth largest in the database, this should be treated cautiously: Coventry occupied

less than a tenth of the cartage for alum of second-placed Salisbury.

Around Coventry lay major towns that were significant traders with Southampton: Northampton, Chesterfield and Derby, although the balance of their goods varied (Fig. 10.5). None imported fish: Southampton was too far off. Northampton focussed on wine and dyestuffs particularly woad. It was a leading centre in the East Midlands with trading links to London, but it had little to do with Coventry.[43] Derby's trade was on a smaller scale, but with a greater emphasis on wine than woad. Chesterfield imported little wine and its trade was characterised by dyestuffs and woad. Its Southampton trade was dominated by John Chalcroft who was active in 1461–3, sending 2 tuns of wine and 113 balettes of woad. He also sent woad to Lincoln in 1462, and to Newark in 1461–2 and 1477–8. Iron, another bulk product did not find its way to this area, except to Derby in the single year 1477–8 (22.46v5, 23.11r1). Was there a major contemporary building programme in the vicinity? Comment should also be made on the chronology of this activity. Trading was negligible before 1462, and non-existent in the sixteenth century: as all the activity lay in the period between. The situation in the 1490s varied: at Northampton trade was resilient, at Derby it remained in 1492 at a much lower level than before, and then ceased, while at Chesterfield the Southampton trade had already ended (Fig. 10.6).

Worcester was an important cloth-producing centre reflected in substantial imports of dyestuffs. But it was also a route centre with a river port and bridge crossing, as well as being an ecclesiastical and county centre. This other role was reflected in the much greater number of carts used for wine, with Worcester being a nationally important market for Southampton wine. By contrast Shrewsbury was much less important, but was important for wine, although with virtually no dyestuffs. Interestingly in these very different towns there was a similar chronological development to the previous group of towns, such trade being largely restricted to the later fifteenth century. Trade was negligible in the early 1440s, but increased towards of the end of the decade. It was at its highest level in the second half of the decade, but then ceased in the sixteenth century (Fig. 10.5).

	1431	1440	1444	1448	1449	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1528	1539	1540
Coventry	0	19	59	30	27	33	32	37	9	4	2	0	0
Northampton	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	7	5	8	0	0	0
Derby	0	0	1	0	0	9	4	9	2	0	0	0	0
Chesterfield	0	0	1	0	0	7	13	4	0	0	0	0	0
Shrewsbury	0	0	0	4	0	15	4	0	0	6	0	0	0
Worcester	0	2	0	1	5	4	7	0	5	9	0	0	0

Figure 10.5: Annual trade of selected midland towns: by carts.

	Wine	Fish (total)	Fish (herring)	Dyestuffs	Woad	Iron
Coventry	40	0	0	222	189	7
Northampton	16	0	0	27	23	
Derby	10	0	0	7	7	4
Chesterfield	6	0	0	24	20	0
Shrewsbury	24	0	0	1	1	0
Worcester	28	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 10.6: Selected towns trading with Southampton (by carts).

The North

There was little trade with the north, although what is perhaps notable is how far Southampton did trade. Kendal showed that it could trade with the far end of the country. We possess two references in the database, although it became a regular if infrequent, long-distance journey, with a Southampton inn even possessing a Kendalmen's chamber.[44] There were 11 men from Kendal recorded in 1492–3 and three a year later, 14 in 1527–8 and 28 from Kendal or Westmoreland in 1552–3. They brought Kendal cloth and returned with woad and raisins.[45] Other cloths were brought from the north and resulted in return trade, as from Manchester where Richard Tetley (Tetlow) made the journey for a range of goods, wine, woad, oil and bowstaves in 1461–2. Another northern town which received a large quantity of woad in the same untypical year was Torksey, where Master Sandys of London sent 279 balettes of woad in 1461–2 (13.78v10, 13.79r2–6).

Notes

1 Comments based on the database can be referenced from the database itself and the date concerned. Only references to a specificindividual entry are given. All years are based on the accounting year and not the calendar year. I am very grateful to Prof C. Dyer and Dr M. Yates for commenting on this chapter.

2 Or 59% of carts sent to designated locations.

3 M. E. Mate, *Trade and Economic Developments, 1450–1550: the Experience of Kent, Surrey and Sussex* (Woodbridge, 2006), 15.

4 *Ibid*. 129.

5 A. Dyer, 'Ranking Lists of English Medieval Towns', *CUHB*, 758, 761, 765.l.

6 On Bristol and its trade see M. Lobel and E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'Bristol' in *British Atlas of Historic Towns, II*: (1975), 10–21; E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Fifteenth century', *Medieval Merchant Venturers* (2nd edn London, 1967); E. M. Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages*, Bristol Record Society VII (1937); *Bristol's Trade with Ireland and the Continent*, ed. S. Flavin and E. T. Jones, Bristol Record Society 61 (2009); J. W. Sherborne, *The Port of Bristol in the Middle Ages*. (Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1965).

7 J. N. Hare, 'Pensford and the Growth of the Cloth Industry in Late Medieval Somerset', *Somerset Archaaeology and Natural History* 147 (2003), 175–6.

8 Ruddock, 174–5; Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, 271 and 70–1.

9 Lewis, 97–101.

10 Database; Coleman, *1443–4*, 168 (unclear on destination), 305, 307.

11 He traded with Gascony and southern Spain and in England with London as well as his main centres of Bristol and Salisbury, and was active until at least about 1480 (Carus-

Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, 111, 101–2 147–8, 151–3, 207, 213); see also database.

12 Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, 101–2; database.

13 D. H. Sacks, *The Widening Gate, Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450–1700* (Berkeley, 1993), 22.

14 On the Icelandic trade see Carus-Wilson, 'The Iceland Venture', *Medieval Merchant Venturers*.

15 Dyer, 'Ranking' 761 (?underassessment), 765.

16 N. M. Herbert, 'Medieval Gloucester 1066–1547', *VCH Glouc*s. iv. 37–8, 48–51; R. Holt, 'Gloucester in the century after the Black Death', *The Medieval Town, a Reader in English Urban History*, ed. R. Holt and G. Rosser (Harlow, 1990), 141–159.

17 Holt, 'Gloucester', 143.

18 *Ibid*. 146–8.

19 *VCH Gloucs*, iv. 50.

20 Wotton-under-Edge figured prominently in 1443–4 with 15 carts but these all belonged to the local lord (John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury), consisting of unspecified miscellaneous goods and should thus not be seen as a product of trade (Coleman, 1443–4, 23–24, 36–7).

21 My general comments on Newbury are based on Yates, *Western Berkshire*, 70–124

22 *Ibid*. 85.

23 *Ibid*. 81–98.

24 *Ibid*. 91–3, 113.

25 See below Ch. 15.

26 See below Ch. 15.

27 On activities other than cloth see Yates, *Western Berkshire*, 104–8.

28 Thomas Gresham was active in the Southampton trade in 1539–40, but with the exception of his Newbury example, and one load of leather, all was of cloth brought from London.

29 Yates, *Western Berkshire*, 83.

30 This may represent a conflation of two John Crokes, *ibid*. 103.

31 *Ibid*. 103.

32 Coleman, *1443–4*, xxxiii.

33 Dyer, 'Ranking', 761, 765.

34 J. Cooper, 'Medieval Oxford', *VCH Ox*on. iv. 41–8.

35 C. Dyer and T. R. Slater, 'The Midlands', *CUHB*, 628.

36 Coleman, *1443–4*, xxxiii.

37 J. Laughton, *Life in a Late Medieval City: Chester 1275–1520* (Oxford, 2008), 169–70; E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Later Medieval Coventry' in É*conomies et Sociéties au Moyen Age. Melange offerts a Edouard Perroy* (Paris, 1973), 371–81.

38 J. Kermode, 'The Greater Towns', *CUHB*, 450; higher figures are suggested by the figures in Goddard, *Commercial Contraction and Urban Decline in Fifteenth-Century Coventry*, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers 46 (2006), 11, 12, 15.

39 On Coventry, see Dyer and Slater, 'Midlands', 635; C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1979), 35–9; Goddard, *Commercial Contraction*; M. H. M. Hulton, 'Coventry and its People in the 1520s', Dugdale Society 38 (1999); M. H. M. Hulton, 'Company and Fellowship', the Medieval Weavers of Coventry, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers (1987); Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade'.

40 Goddard, *Commercial Contraction*, 24–28.

41 *Ibid*. 16–24.

42 Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade', 380.

43 J. Laughton, E. Jones and C. Dyer, 'The Urban Hierarchy in the Later Middle Ages: a Case Study from the East Midlands', *Urban History* 28 (2001).

44 *Southampton Probate Inventories, 1447–1576*, ed. E. Roberts and K. Parker (SRSer 35

(1992), 286.

45 B. C. Jones, 'Westmoreland Pack-Horsemen in Southampton', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 59 (1960), 65–6.

Chapter 11

THE BROKAGE BOOKS AS SOURCES FOR LOCAL AND FAMILY HISTORY

Michael Hicks

The Southampton brokage books are records of the trade of Southampton through the Bargate with its trading partners. The books are important sources for the local history of Southampton and for the activities of its traders and carters. They can be collated with the customs and local customs accounts, the book of fines, and other town records. Conversely and crucially, the brokage books are sources for the local history of every one of Southampton's trading partners – from Amesbury in Wiltshire to Yeovil in Somerset – and for the family histories of all the traders and carters that they record. The database documents shipments to over 300 places. It also mentions per volume hundreds of traders and carters, 572 traders and 471 carters in 1447–8 respectively, many of course continuing from year to year.

Trading links mattered everywhere. No place and no individual could be completely self-sufficient. Moreover trading links often sprang from or developed longstanding business connections, that could be complemented by social, religious, recreational and other associations. That on Friday 10 January 1449 William Soper, customer, landholder, and clerk of the king's ships despatched a pipe of wine to Winchester, where he did not live, adds another dimension to a well-known career.[1] Often such other connections are implied. An enormous range of commodities were brought to England from abroad, noted Sir Thomas Smith's *Discourse of the Commonweal* of 1549, many of them capable of being produced locally as Thirsk long ago indicated,[2] local production and even export being organised in the century and a half that followed. Many of these products came through Southampton for redistribution beyond. Nowhere did trade with Southampton equate to the full range of economic activities of any individual or place. The brokage books record wholesale trade in bulk, not the petty parcels of everyday household expenditure or the small purchases sought by many frequenters of markets. Where, for instance, were horses shod and wheels repaired, milk and

fodder procured, which never feature in the brokage books? The books never itemise the full range of trading connections. Those bringing Westmorland cloth by packhorse from Kendal were dwarfed in numbers and importance by the other traders and trades of this prosperous Westmorland town who never ventured southwards.[3] An inland centre like Andover or Romsey or Newbury traded in many different directions (360 degrees) with many partners, commerce with Southampton being merely a slice of its trading cake, though an important slice. Hare has identified the smaller port of Poole as an alternative supplier for Salisbury[4] and hence all places in between. Much of the Cotswold cloth exported from Southampton may have come via London. Hare also stressed the role of such towns in marketing products from Southampton,[5] in distributing and redistributing them to towns further afield, and to the many smaller places in their hinterlands. Much of what was brought to Winchester was indeed sold in Winchester – even the cathedral priory and college supplemented direct supplies with purchases off the shelf such as iron and wax[6] – but what was conveyed to Winchester was not purely for consumption in Winchester, which was market town for its immediate hinterland and offered a greater variety of trades than smaller neighbours such as Alresford, Alton, Basingstoke, Andover and Stockbridge.[7] Such redistribution can often been deduced: Ralph Estmere of Bruton for instance had goods carted to Salisbury, surely transhipped some for Bruton and other destinations in between. The disproportionately large deliveries to Romsey and Ringwood were because they were entry points for the New Forest and south Dorset.[8] Much may have been marketed at Salisbury's great market, but much also perhaps transferred into smaller loads for destinations beyond. Relatively little was consigned specifically to the great abbeys at Waverley near Guildford (8.32v3) and Wherwell near Andover, but the wine, fish and spices that they certainly consumed most probably came from Southampton through the medium of retailers in these towns. There were people who drank wine, dyed with woad, manufactured in iron, and used bowstaves everywhere, in the hundreds of villages that had no direct trade with Southampton.

What was carried from Southampton to its trading partners reveals something of their local economies and societies. The brokage books reveal some of the commodities traded at the fairs, notably at Romsey, Weyhill, and at Magdalen Fair in Winchester. That much of that consigned to Romsey and Magdalen fairs comprised pewter and various merchandises and to Weyhill overwhelmingly garlic indicates the small purchases expected of intended customers (8.8r1a, 5; 8.86v9; 8.99v1, 3, 9). At Salisbury, Romsey, Newbury and a dozen other places deliveries reveal something of local commercial life. Potentially the brokage books reveal the penetration of commodities imported via Southampton, especially luxuries such as wine (and especially sweet wines), spices, and wax. Even the gentry, it appears, relied on tallow candles and the greatest of households were selective in the spices they used.[9] Bulk imports of fish can be tracked to market towns and the greater religious

houses: the brokage books cannot reveal consumption of fresh fish or ale. Sadlery and horse harness, boots and shoes, timber and tile scarcely feature in the brokage books. The rustic village of Hursley, midway between Romsey and Winchester and eight miles from Southampton, received five direct deliveries in 1447–8: three of fish, including 4.5 barrels of herrings, 126 gallons of wine, and 4 quarters of charcoal (8.21r4, 8.73v3, 8.82v10, 8.87v4, 8.91r9). Man cannot live on fish, wine, and coal alone, of course, and the brokage books do not record what was produced in Hursley, exported or indeed what was delivered by carts, packhorses, or pedlars whose starting point was Romsey, Winchester, or Andover. The brokage books reveal only destinations of whole carts originating from Southampton, not the deliveries of the part loads deliberately redistributed by recipients, or purchased in smaller parcels at local markets. The substantial town of Cirencester (Gloucs.), 60 miles away, also received five deliveries, four of wine – perhaps for its Augustinian abbey? – and one of soap and woad, and returned wool to Southampton (8.45v4, 8.52r6, 8.57r6, 8.63r4, 8.76r4). Presumably the sea fish, iron, spices, and wax that it certainly consumed came instead via Bristol? The surviving household account for Bishop Mitford of 1406–7, the year of his death, reveals what he had procured through other routes as well as what came from Southampton.[10]

The brokage books are full of names – of abbeys, colleges and other institutions, of bishops and noblemen, but especially of merchants, traders and artisans (suppliers, middlemen and customers), and of carters, both large-scale like William Hekley and long distance and those who made short journeys occasionally from near at hand. A certain level of wealth and status was needed to feature in the brokage books at all: the capacity to possess a cartload or significant part of a cartload of some commodity. A cartload, two pipes of wine worth £4, a hundredweight of wax worth almost £3 or six balettes of woad worth £3 13s. was not an insignificant capital investment, even if procured on credit (as it may have been) and intended for speedy re-sale. Topmost in rank and wealth were the London aldermen and the Italians, but the elites of Salisbury, Southampton, Wilton and many smaller towns also occur. There were 30 places in 1447–8, from Bridgwater to Leicester, that received one delivery only. In no case do the brokage books expose the whole of their business, but often enough similarities and resemblances between those trading, from Winchester for example, are revealed.

The smiths who carted iron themselves to their rural homes were sinking considerable capital sums into raw material that was considerably more than was required just for horse shoes. A smithy, assistants, tools and charcoal are all implied. Almost all the carters, it appears, had their own carts and teams of horses and could meet various tolls and overnight costs of man and beast, most probably being reimbursed somewhat in arrears. Some traded – perhaps all always traded – somewhat on their own behalf. What the brokage books record were whole cartloads for personal use, two pipes of wine perhaps, or

woad in the case of John Kytsell (8.86v2, 83v7). Even carters, therefore, were householders, self-employed businessmen with some capital, most probably eligible for public office in their home manors and parishes, if only very rarely of sufficient rank to be county jurors or county electors or elected borough officers. The brokage books tell us nothing about the landless or unpropertied, perhaps fewer in number in fifteenth century England and certainly less well recorded following the leasing of the demesnes, but they do contribute to historical understanding of urban elites, traders and artisans everywhere. The dominance at Wilton of John Seward, who served as mayor, and Margery Hill is striking, particularly given the proximity of Salisbury.[11] Philip Monger and John Crook received 18 and 12 deliveries at Gloucester and Newbury respectively in 1447–8. It is striking how many carters regularly served Winchester and how many local retailers obtained their produce directly from Southampton.

Altogether 572 individual owners of commodities appear in the brokage book for 1447–8 alone. The brokage books record direct trade overland between Southampton and 300 other places. Always named is the owner of the commodity – the supplier, whether a merchant of Southampton, London, or somewhere else – or the recipient. In every case we have a name associated with a particular place: often the broker recorded the domicile of the trader when unusual, e.g. Bruton or Bradford-in-Avon, or liable to confusion, such as John Smith, senior and junior. Bradley has integrated the Italian names into well-documented Italian families and companies and has located other Londoners within the civic elite.[12] Often Hare has other information on traders from Hampshire and Wiltshire – their other business interests and local officers – and the more prominent, such as John Halle and Sir Thomas Coke, have biographies in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Borough M.P.s feature in the biographical volumes of the History of Parliament Trust. The addresses of some carters are stated, their trading networks more fully documented. Stopping short of genealogy, both Hare on traders and Hicks on carters have shown the coincidence of names over several generations.

The brokage books are a vast resource of personal names concentrated principally within 50 miles of Southampton but also some from overseas. All those named in the brokage books are people of means and at least local standing. The more important individuals named in the brokage books feature occasionally in the printed calendars of chancery and probably also in unprinted royal records also. John Halle and Sir Thomas Coke are instances. This study has not trawled thoroughly through the records of the courts of king's bench and common pleas, the feet of fines, the pardon rolls, the returns to parliamentary writs, or ministers' accounts. Merchants, artisans and traders of the greater towns – London, Salisbury, Southampton, and Winchester – crop up also in the printed records of their home towns. We know, for instance, that John Halle and William Swayne were mayors of Salisbury.[13]

Any records kept by smaller towns are generally lost. Even at this late date family names can be indicative of place of origin or occupation, notably Smith, John Hostelere of Frome in Somerset, or the John Taverner who received four deliveries of wine totalling five pipes in 1447–8 (8.57v7, 8.67v9, 8.95r4, 8.97r1). Less common names, such as Hekley and Chavyn, single out specific families. Bradley has demonstrated what can be achieved with the more exotic Italian names in terms of origins, relationships, activities and chronology. Almost all individuals are linked at particular dates to two locations – to Southampton and to their destination – and not infrequently to a place of residence also. The combination of personal name, date, and location is the means to pursue them into the local community and its records. The database sets broad parameters for their dates of operation and additional identifiers, such as senior and junior, signal the passage of generations. If not absolutely straightforward, the database is a huge genealogical resource for the 'middling sort' – those between the aristocracy and graduates whose careers are generally well known and those who scarcely feature at all. It will enable many ordinary families to be traced back a further century and goes some way towards exposing their activities, businesses, and even their diet.

Notes

1 Lewis, 121.
2 J. Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects* (Oxford, 1978), 6–7, 14.
3 B. C. Jones, 'Westmorland Pack-horse men in Southampton', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, new ser. 59 (1960), 65–84.
4 See above, Ch. 6.
5 See above, Ch. 9.
6 Harwood, Iron and Wax, 6, 15, 23.
7 Compare e.g. W. G. Hoskins, *Provincial England* (London, 1965), 78–81.
8 See above, Ch. 9.
9 See below, Ch. 13.
10 See below, Ch. 7.
11 See above, Ch. 9.
12 See above, Ch. 7.
13 J. Hatcher, 'Old and New Sarum', in R. C. Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vi (London, 1843), 8.

Chapter 12

COMMODITIES: WINE

Winifred A. Harwood

Introduction[1]

Wine was the most important commodity imported through Southampton which, after Bristol and London, was the third greatest importer of wine in the country.[2] This chapter discusses imports of wine transported overland from Southampton.

Everybody drank ale in the fifteenth century. Although more socially selective, wine was drunk in thousands of gallons each year, and was virtually a necessity of life for the upper ranks of society – most probably the nobility, religious houses, the gentry, and urban elites. Some of them purchased it in bulk directly from source, more from importers in the port, or alternatively bought it locally through intermediaries and retailers. Only the very wealthy could afford to stock up with pipes and tuns, whereas gentry households laid in a few gallons at a time.[3] For the less wealthy, supply was generally through middlemen or local retailers. Some of those for whom this type of expense was simply not a possibility bought wine in small quantities through a tavern, whence it could be removed or consumed on site. Taverners, like the vintners and the big wine merchants, had their own role to play in the fifteenth-century wine trade.[4]

Wine varied in price according to quality and availability. An inferior Gascon wine could cost £4 a tun, while a better one could be almost twice as much, around £7 a tun. War and a poor yield sometimes forced prices up to as much as £10 a tun. Fifteenth-century retail prices were generally reasonably stable, standing at 6d to 8d a gallon in the early part of the century and rising to 8d a gallon in the second half of the 1450s.[5] In 1449, at the start of the final phase of the Hundred Years' War, the retail price of wine ranged from 7d to 10d a gallon at Oxford; at Cambridge, between 1449 and 1451, it was 10d a gallon.[6]

Apart from the sweet wines, a separate category discussed below, most wine probably came from the Gascon region of France. Most was a basic red

which deteriorated quickly and therefore needed to be distributed and consumed without too much delay. Having arrived in the port, wine was transferred directly onto coastal vessels, for distribution by water to places such as the Isle of Wight or even further afield to Devon to the west or Sussex to the east,[7] or it was brought ashore. The town crane was required to lift the heavy casks from the incoming vessels onto the wharves,[8] whence it went for temporary storage in the undercrofts and vaults in the town, or else was carted out of Southampton to be distributed to towns both locally and further afield. It was transported in barrels (32 gallons), hogsheads (63 gallons), pipes (126 gallons) and tuns, the great casks which held as much as 252 gallons. The tun, or equivalent two pipes, was the maximum amount which could be carried on a single cart.

Wine was sent to 167 places, more than half of the approximately 300 locations recorded in the brokage books. Map 4 showing the distribution of wine from Southampton illustrates that some wine was carted a considerable distance from the port, even as far as Chesterfield about 190 miles[9] and Manchester approximately 235 miles away.[10] This suggests that value as well as bulk was a consideration which had a bearing on the distance goods were transported. Although wine was taken to some locations just once or twice, and in small quantities, it was carted to other destinations on a more regular and frequent basis and in much larger quantities. Some was delivered to the king and to private individuals such as the Lord Chancellor. It was sent to abbeys and priories, to vintners and to local hostelries, inns, alehouses and taverns. Most however left the town in the hands of merchants for re-sale elsewhere, in particular to London, Salisbury and Winchester, the three main destinations.

Quantities of Wine

The wine fleets generally arrived at two key points in the year. The vintage wine arrived in the autumn, in time for Christmas; and the more mature reek wines, which sold at a higher price, in the spring, April, May and June.[11] Must was the name given to the first wine of the new season that had not yet fully fermented. The brokage books show that must arrived in Southampton solely in October and November, just after the harvest. They also reveal that the market for must was limited. The total quantity for all the years analysed amounted to only 5,481 gallons, just under 22 tuns, a negligible percentage of the whole. Of this quantity, one hogshead (63 gallons) went to the Lord Chancellor in London and 252 gallons to the London vintner William Stede. The rest went to towns such as Abingdon, Basingstoke, Marlborough, Oxford, Salisbury, Wallingford and Winchester, total quantities sent to each place being small. It is particularly noticeable that no Italian merchants were involved in the distribution of must. William Daneell in 1477–78, and local men, John Bentham and Walter Fetplace in 1430–31 and John Gildon of

Southampton in 1491–92, are examples of those trading in must. Bentham frequently acted as a host for foreign merchants who came to Southampton, while Fetplace senior was a draper, prominent in town life. In his role as a Southampton merchant, he purchased much of his wine from the Italian Gherardo Galganetti.[12]

Town	Gallons	Recipients/owner (with quantity)
Abingdon	504	John Bentham (252) William Daniell (252)
Basingstoke	252	John Bentham (252)
London	315	William Stede vintner (252) Lord Chancellor (63)
Marlborough	630	John Bentham (252) William Daniell (126) William Nichol (252)
Newbury	252	John Bentham (252)
Oxford	504	John Bentham (252) William Daniell (252)
Romsey	189	John Baffele (63) unknown (126)
Salisbury	1134	John Bentham (252) The Clerc (126) John Gildon (126) William Daniell (630)
Wallingford	252	John Bentham (252)
Winchester	567	Richard Baffele and Thomas Colvyle (189) Robert Barton (252) John Chaleroft (126)
Placename omitted	756	John Bentham (504) Walter Fetplace (126) John Brynkle (126)

Figure 12.1: Distribution of must.

Wines

Wine was generally referred to in the brokage books simply as ‘wine’ and has been entered on the database as ‘wine non specific’ in the item field and as ‘wine’ in the sub-category field. Other wines, such as malmsey and rumney, were entered in the item field as ‘wine, malmsey’ and ‘wine, rumney’ and in the sub-category field as ‘wine’. It is, of course, impossible to know if all the barrels, hogsheads or tuns recorded simply as ‘wine’ contained the basic wine or one of the sweet wines instead. Hence the sub-category field is used to produce total wine figures. These include the relatively small quantities of rumney, malmsey, muscadel, must and so forth, which represented only approximately 2.5% of total wine. Figure 12.2 shows total imports of all wine by years.

Figure 12.2 highlights the unusually high number of gallons arriving in Southampton in 1492–3, a figure which appears untypical in this period and far higher than the two years on either side of it. However, as the account for 1493–4 covers just 34 weeks of the financial year, it is an unfair comparison. It was therefore decided to compare the first 34 weeks of all three years in the 1490s so that 1493–4 could be compared with 1491–2 and 1492–3. The result is shown on Figure 12.3.

Figure 12.3 clearly establishes that, while not as high as 1492–3, the figure for 1493–4 was considerably higher than that for 1491–2. Had the complete record survived, the 1493–4 figure could have matched the high figure of 1492–3. It is difficult to account for these two years, but certainly further research is warranted. Figure 12.4 shows the main places to which wine was distributed.

Figure 12.4 highlights that considerably less wine arrived in Southampton

in the 1530s than in the second half of the fifteenth century. Particularly noticeable is the exceptional quantity of 120,300 gallons (477 tuns) taken to London in 1492–3, compared with 1538–9 when very little wine, a mere 378 gallons (1.5 tuns) was carted to the capital, and none at all in 1539–40. The quantity of wine sent to Salisbury in 1439–40 fell short of the amount sent to Winchester, but in all subsequent years the Wiltshire city took more than Winchester. Some of Salisbury's wine was for onward distribution. Wine taken to Winchester was for consumption within Winchester and for villages and towns in the locality.

Figures 12.4 and 12.5 show that in 1439–40 more wine went to Winchester than anywhere else. In 1462–3, 1477–8, 1491–2 and 1492–93 the quantity of wine going to London exceeded that dispatched to Salisbury. From 1527 onwards the quantity of wine being taken to Bristol declined to just one tun in 1539–40; none at all went to Gloucester, and very little went to London compared with earlier years, none at all in 1539–40. More wine went to Salisbury than to London and Winchester combined.

Figure 12.7 compares destinations to which more than 20,000 gallons were taken. All years including 1430–1 and the incomplete year 1493–94 have been entered. Other destinations are grouped together under one total. Using these figures, the distribution of wine is presented in percentage terms.

Clearly Salisbury (23%) and London (23%) took almost half the total wine that came into the country through Southampton. Winchester took a significant share (14%); Oxford had 4%, Bristol and Romsey each had 3%, and Gloucester and Newbury each had 2%, significantly less; but all these places took over 20,000 gallons. All other places when added together could not equal the amount going to Salisbury. In terms of wine, Salisbury was the port's greatest customer, followed by London.

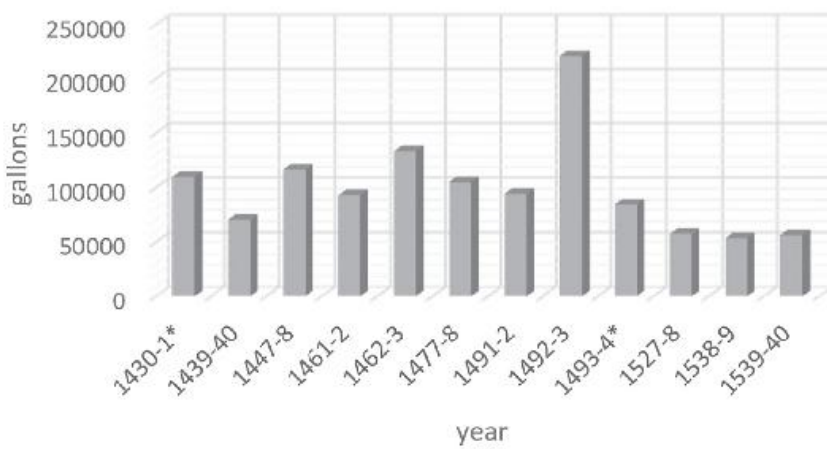


Figure 12.2: Total wine figures including all unidentified destinations (all years in gallons).

Figure 12.3: Distribution of wine from Southampton 1491–4 (in gallons; weeks 1–34).

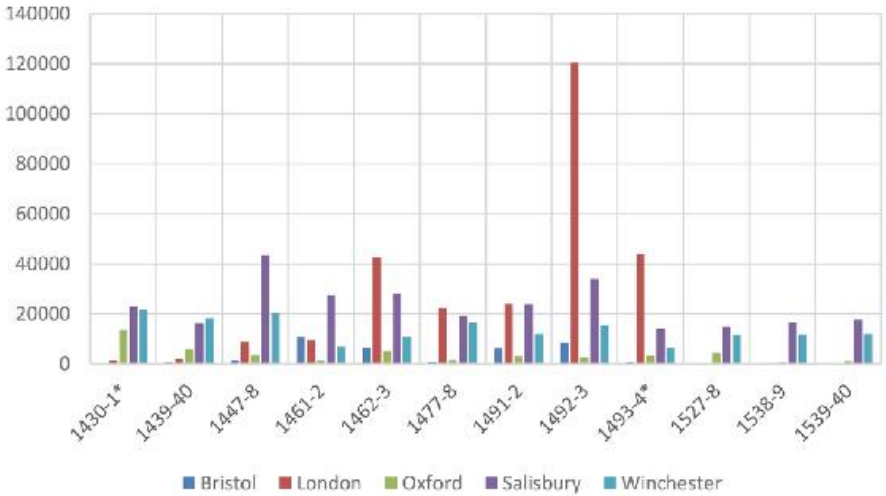


Figure 12.4: Distribution of wine to major destinations from Southampton (gallons).

Standard town	1430–1*	1439–40	1447–8	1461–2	1462–3	1477–8	1491–2	1492–3	1493–4*	1527–8	1538–9	1539–40
Bristol	252	504	1386	10908	6300	630	6237	8568	504	-	-	252
Gloucester	1008	3466	4158	2366	2961	756	4032	5544	630	-	-	-
London	1386	2016	8790	9563	42560	22289	23878	120300	43976	252	378	-
Newbury	3780	1638	3024	1449	1607	3056	378	1827	504	4043	3717	2205
Oxford	13608	5922	3654	1323	5040	1544	2962	2584	3246	4158	504	1008
Romsey	2520	2064	5733	2615	2646	2205	3213	4820	441	2268	2268	3024
Salisbury	23057	16162	43377	27334	28110	19061	23814	34117	14150	14805	16359	17640
Winchester	21548	18170	20507	6956	10901	16736	12036	15342	6271	11750	11813	12012

Figure 12.5: Distribution of wine from Southampton to major towns.

Year of a/c	1	2	3
1430–1*	Salisbury	Winchester	Oxford
1439–40	Winchester	Salisbury	Oxford
1447–8	Salisbury	Winchester	London
1461–2	Salisbury	Bristol	London
1462–3	London	Salisbury	Winchester
1477–8	London	Salisbury	Winchester
1491–2	London	Salisbury	Winchester
1492–3	London	Salisbury	Winchester
1493-4*	London	Salisbury	Winchester
1527-8	Salisbury	Winchester	Oxford
1538-9	Salisbury	Winchester	Newbury
1539-40	Salisbury	Winchester	Romsey

Figure 12.6: Principal destinations of wine from Southampton.

The distribution of wine can also be viewed from a county perspective (see Fig. 12.8). The counties are based on pre-1974 county boundary changes, so Bristol figures are included in the figures for Gloucestershire and figures for London in Middlesex.

This is summarised in Figure 12.9, which ranks the counties by quantities of wine in gallons.

Comparison with Figure 12.6, which ranks the top three towns according to quantities of wine, shows that in 1477–8, even though London took more wine than Winchester, the total quantity sent to Hampshire exceeded the amount going to Middlesex. Similarly, at the end of the period, in 1527–8, 1538–9 and 1539–40, although more wine was sent to Salisbury than to Winchester, overall the quantity taken to Hampshire was greater than the amount sent to Wiltshire in each of those years.

Pie charts, Figures 12.10 and 12.11, reveal just how large were the shares of wine of Hampshire, Middlesex and Wiltshire. They highlight differences, such as in 1439–40 when very little wine went to Middlesex (which includes principally figures for London), the huge quantity taken there in 1492–3 and the absence of wine going there in 1539–40. As little as 1% was taken to midland and northern counties in 1439–40, but as wine was taken further afield in 1461–2 this rose to 10% only to fall back again in 1492–3 and disappear altogether by 1539–40. Gloucestershire (which includes the wine

port of Bristol) took 7% of Southampton's wine in 1439–40, 6% in 1447–8, but surprisingly as much as 17% in 1461–2, before reducing to 2% in 1477–8, 7% in 1492–3 and with just one tun wine, plummeting to 0% in 1539–40. The northern counties took a significant share of wine in the second half of the fifteenth century, but none at all at the end of the period in 1539–40. The number of counties (17) to which wine was taken in 1477–8 contrasts markedly with 1539–40, when the number of destination counties had halved and when the greatest share of wine was being taken to towns in Hampshire.

These pie charts, Figure 12.10 and 12.11, reveal how far removed were some of Southampton's trading partners; see also Map 4 which demonstrates that wine which entered the country through the south-coast port was carried as far afield as Derbyshire. By 1538–40, when Southampton's wine trade had contracted, the number of counties to which it was sent had halved (Map 5). The counties to which wine was taken in those years were closer to the home port. Berkshire, Dorset, Wiltshire and Surrey were all adjacent counties and Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Somerset were just one county further removed. Berkshire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey and Wiltshire received some wine from Southampton every year throughout the period. In 1539–40 45% of all the wine stayed in Hampshire.

The towns to which wine was taken had also changed. Two counties, Hampshire and Wiltshire were selected and two accounting years, 1439–40 and 1539–40 were analysed; one near the beginning of the period and one at the end.

Figure 12.12 shows that in 1439–40 wine was taken to ten towns in Hampshire and seven in Wiltshire. In Hampshire, Winchester, Romsey and Basingstoke took the greatest quantities; in Wiltshire, the top three destinations for wine were Salisbury, Wilton and Warminster. By 1539 wine was sent to 13 towns in Hampshire and just four in Wiltshire. While the number of towns receiving wine in Hampshire had expanded, the reverse had happened in Wiltshire. The Wiltshire results were surprising. Closer examination shows that in 1539–40 a total of 18,900 gallons of wine were taken to that county. Apart from 756 gallons which were sent to Marlborough and 252 gallons to Edington and Ramsbury, the remaining 17,640 gallons went entirely to Salisbury. Salisbury clearly dominated the county in terms of wine. Although Winchester took the greatest number of gallons, it did not dominate Hampshire to the same extent. The smaller Hampshire towns of Romsey, Basingstoke and Andover were acting as marketing centres in their localities. These figures of course relate to shipments direct from Southampton. The presence of an important family, a large household, could inflate the figures of a small and even unremarkable place. Thus the Lisle family at Thruxton and Lord Sandys at Mottisfont boosted wine figures for these two places. Further probing may reveal that the private individuals that took direct deliveries at Whiteparish or the Lisle family at Thruxton, had successors who bought their wine retail.

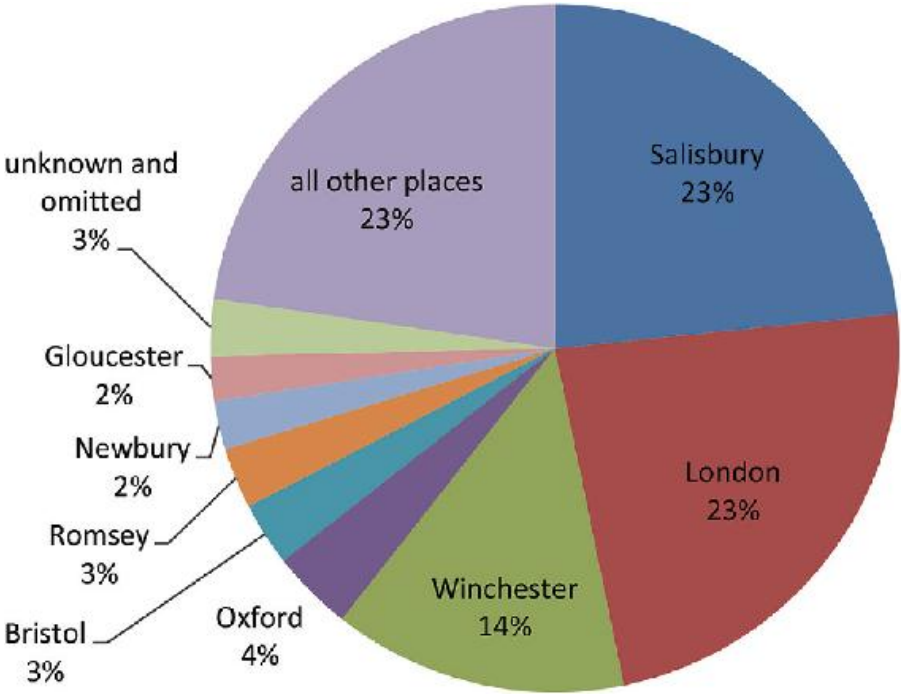


Figure 12.7: Distribution of wine from Southampton (total all years).

County	1439–40	1447–8	1461–2	1462–3	1477–8	1491–2	1492–3	1527–8	1538–9	1539–40
BERKS	5,955	8,190	4,095	6,143	10,902	2,804	4,977	6,815	5,607	3,465
BUCKS				504			252			
DERBYS			1,008	504	1,386					
DEV					32					
DOR	504		1,764	1,576	1,890	252	1,449	2,016	2,457	504
GLOS	4,852	6,678	16,051	10,521	2,268	10,647	14,490			252
HANTS	26,282	32,981	14,331	20,131	30,744	21,108	27,911	20,854	22,158	25,494
HERCF	252		756	252						
LANCS			693		252					
LEICS		252				252				
LINCS						945				
MDX, London	2,016	8,790	9,563	42,812	22,289	23,878	120,300	252	378	
NORTHANTS				1,008	504	252	630			
NOTTS				252	947	252				
OXON	8,190	5,702	1,575	6,552	5,087	2,962	2,836	4,914	504	1,260
SHROPS		1,008	3,024	852			504			
SOM	882	126	2,268	1,890	504	1,260	1,578	410	504	
SSX					252		379			
STAFFS		252		252						
SURR	1,638	1,260	882	3,360	1,764	1,134	1,386	1,575	756	1,008
Unknown	252	3,061	2,428	945	1,357	252	4,977	1,481	4,032	5,334
WARKS	0	410	2,552	1,198	1,859	1,764	1,512	504		
WILTS	18,682	47,063	30,106	29,905	22,088	24,413	35,440	18,029	17,241	18,900
WORCS	504	252	1,584	3,088	504	1,512	2,268			
Total Counties	11	13	15	18	17	15	15	10	8	7

Figure 12.8: Distribution of wine by counties.

Year	1	2	3
1439–40	Hampshire	Wiltshire	Oxfordshire
1447–8	Wiltshire	Hampshire	Middlesex
1461–2	Wiltshire	Gloucestershire	Hampshire
1462–3	Middlesex	Wiltshire	Hampshire
1477–8	Hampshire	Middlesex	Wiltshire
1491–2	Wiltshire	Middlesex	Hampshire
1492–3	Middlesex	Wiltshire	Hampshire
1527–8	Hampshire	Wiltshire	Berkshire
1538–9	Hampshire	Wiltshire	Berkshire
1539–40	Hampshire	Wiltshire	Berkshire

Figure 12.9: Ranking of counties (wine).

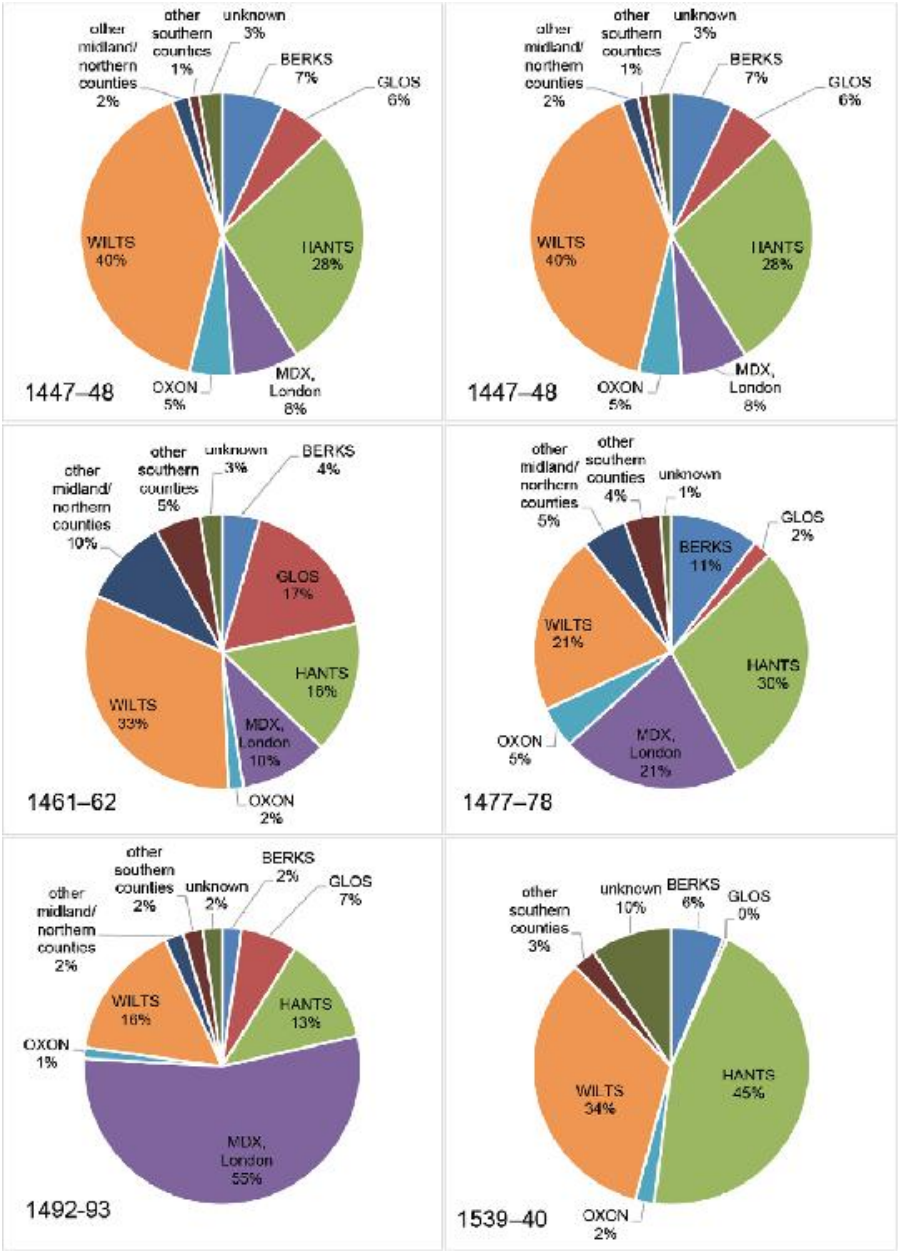


Figure 12.10: Series showing distribution of wine by county in gallons in percentage terms.

	1439–40	1447–8	1461–2	1462–3	1477–8	1491–2	1492–3	1527–8	1538–9	1539–40
Berkshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Buckinghamshire							✓			
Derbyshire			✓	✓	✓					
Devon					✓					
Dorset	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gloucestershire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
Hampshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Herefordshire	✓		✓	✓						
Lancashire			✓		✓					
Leicestershire		✓				✓				
Lincolnshire						✓				
Middlesex,London	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Northamptonshire				✓	✓	✓	✓			
Nottinghamshire				✓	✓	✓				
Oxfordshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Shropshire		✓	✓	✓			✓			
Somerset	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Staffordshire				✓						
Surrey	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sussex					✓		✓			
Warwickshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Wiltshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Worcestershire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
TOTAL 23	12	12	15	17	17	15	15	9	8	7

Figure 12.11: The changing pattern of distribution by county.

The inclusion of Shirley, now a Southampton suburb, is interesting. Carters, Robert Gyssyche and John Kytsel senior and junior, carted wine for their own use. One consignment which John Kytsel junior carted to Shirley had been purchased from Corbet [Gabriele Corbizzi] (3.94r3), for whom Kytsel had previously carted wine to Bristol (1.4v10).

Sweet Wines

The brokage books itemize a few specialised wines: bastard, malmsey, muscadel, new wine, red wine, wine of Rochelle, rumney, sack, sweet wine and white wine. These were high price luxury products demanded by a more elite clientele than consumers of non-specific wine, a bulk product, and normally only a couple of thousand gallons, still a substantial quantity, were dispatched. The brokage books refer to these wines much less frequently than the ordinary red wine. The quantity recorded, including the figures for must, amounted to only around 2.5% of the total of all wine. The figures for the sweet wines is included in the figures for wine generally.[13]

Sweet wines were not only very fashionable but also very expensive. They were purchased in smaller quantities and were consumed only by wealthy members of society.[14] These sweet wines were made from grapes which had

been harvested late in the season. They had become raisin-like and produced a sweeter, more alcoholic wine with a longer shelf life.[15] Malmsey, muscadel and rumney are typical examples. Muscadel only appeared in the accounts once in all these years, when just one barrel was sent to the bishop of Winchester.

Malmsey was distributed from Southampton to fourteen locations: Alton, Bridgwater, Bristol, Gloucester, London, Ludlow, Newbury, Odiham, Romsey, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Warminster, Winchester and Wolverton (see Maps 6A and 6B). The total quantities taken over all the years were relatively small, even what was sent to London, Salisbury and Winchester. Coming from one-time Venetian possessions, Crete and Cyprus, malmsey was initially the monopoly of the Venetians whose influence is very evident. The Venetian Giuliano Carold sent 1,260 gallons of malmsey (5 tuns) to London; Corbet sent malmsey to Salisbury and to Winchester. However, English merchants also played a part. It was the Southampton merchant John Croppe who sent malmsey to Bridgwater. Malmsey also went to the Winchester merchant and vintner John Cotelere, but only in one year, 1447–8, and only 126 gallons. Similarly, the same amount went to Lord Hungerford (29.45r7) and another to the abbot of Hyde Abbey at Winchester (33.10r7). Paolo Morelli, a Florentine agent who resided in Southampton, sent malmsey to Ludlow and Salisbury.

	Ranking of towns (wine)	1439–40 (total gallons)		Ranking of towns (wine)	1539–40 (total gallons)
Hampshire			Hampshire		
	Winchester (1)	18170		Winchester (1)	12012
	Romsey (2)	2064		Romsey (2)	3024
	Basingstoke (3)	1764		Alton (3)	2205
	Shirley (4)	1638		Andover (4)	2142
	Andover (5)	1008		Basingstoke (4)	2142
	Alton (6)	756		Alresford (6)	1008
	Hruston (7)	378		Mottisfont (7)	567
	St Marybourne (8)	252		Ringwood (8)	504
	Ringwood (9)	126		Overton (9)	441
	Wallop (9)	126		Baddesley (10)	252
				Bishop's Waltham (11)	189
				Whitchurch (11)	189
				Hurnble (13)	63
	Total	26,282			24.738
Wiltshire			Wiltshire		
	Salisbury (1)	16162		Edington (3)	252
	Wilton(2)	882		Salisbury (1)	17640
	Warminster (3)	630		Marlborough (2)	756
	Devizes (4)	378		Ramsbury (3)	252
	Calne (5)	252			
	Marlborough (5)	252			
	Whiteparish (7)	126			
	Total	18,682			18,900

Figure 12.12: Changing destinations for wine imports.

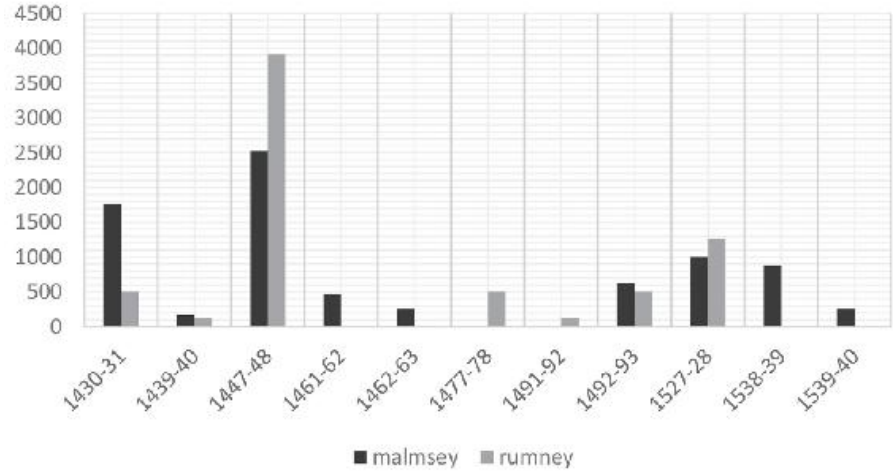


Figure 12.13: Total figures for distribution of malmsey and rumney from Southampton (all years).

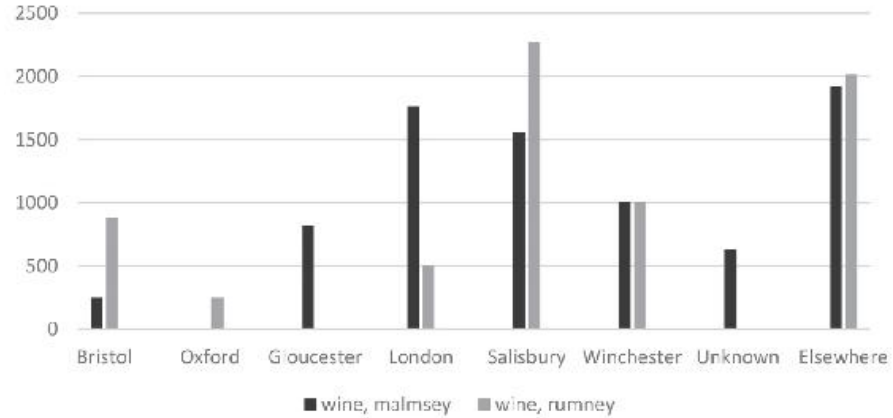


Figure 12.14: Principal destinations for malmsey and rumney (all years).

Compared with ordinary 'wine', quantities of rumney distributed from Southampton were not huge, just 27.5 tuns in total. Rumney, a sweet Greek wine, was often regarded as of lesser quality than malmsey.[16] Rumney travelled to a relatively small number of places including Alton, Cirencester, London, Oxford, Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester (see Maps 7A and 7B, Fig. 12.13).

Less rumney was sent to London (504 gallons) than to Bristol (882 gallons), Salisbury (2,268 gallons) and Winchester (1,008 gallons) but, again, compared with total 'wine' figures, the quantities were small. The greatest amount of malmsey went to London (1,764 gallons) then Salisbury (1,559 gallons) and Winchester (1,008 gallons) see Figure 12.14.

Distribution of Wine

Many people were involved in the distribution of wine from Southampton. Some wine was sent directly to important and wealthy households or private individuals. In 1439–40, wine was taken to Thomas Lord Scales in London (3.103r5) and to John Lord Talbot at Wotton-under-Edge (3.103v3). In 1477–78 it was taken to King Edward IV, who received 2,898 gallons (11.5 tuns, 22.11r1) and, in the same year to Salisbury for 'Lord Hungerford' (Sir Walter Hungerford, 22.15r2). It was the more expensive malmsey that was sent to Hungerford again in 1492–3 (29.45r7). Between 1538–40 wine was sent to the Lord Chamberlain at Mottisfont, who received 1,638 gallons (6.5 tuns). At this time, the chamberlain was William Lord Sandys, who, in 1536 at the suppression of the lesser religious houses, had received Mottisfont Priory in Hampshire in exchange for his two villages of Chelsea and Paddington. Sandys had already taken up residence at Mottisfont by May 1538 to oversee building alterations to the former Augustinian priory.[17] The brokage books reveal some of the materials which were carted there at this period.

Wine was supplied to local religious houses in Romsey and Winchester, and further afield to the abbeys of Abingdon, Reading and Gloucester. Abbeys like Hyde in Winchester received wine directly from the port in every year apart from 1462–3. In some years this amounted to as much as 1,260 gallons (5 tuns); in 1539–40 it was just 252 gallons or one tun. On average the abbey imported about 600 gallons or 2.5 tuns per annum. Other research has shown that St Swithun's Priory and Winchester College both purchased wine directly from the port and also bought it locally in the town. Maybe Hyde Abbey supplemented stocks in the same way, particularly in years when it received no wine directly from Southampton.[18]

Wine was conveyed to local inns and taverns. Figure 12.15 below shows those which appear in the brokage books. They include the George Inn and the Swan at Alton (28.33r10 and 29.43r2), the Hert and New Inn at Andover (29.2v11 and 14.48r2), the Hert Inn at Newbury (29.25r8), and the Angel, George, Greyhound and Legge inns at Salisbury (37.51v3, 1.15r12, 30.35r6, and13.61v1).

Cartloads of wine were taken to these hostelries which, in this period, were already playing a significant economic role.[19] This is possibly what was happening when wool was sent to John Hostlere, the innkeeper in Frome. Similarly, when Corbet sent rumney and malmsey to Winchester, the arrangements were made at the Chequer Inn (1.3v15).[20]

Although much wine was taken directly to private individuals, important households, inns and monasteries, most nevertheless left the port in the names of merchants. A selection of those involved in Southampton's wine trade is shown in Figure 12.16. The list identifies the 'merchant', dates when each was active, the number of towns and counties to which they sent wine, and the total quantity of wine despatched, in gallons and tuns. While the two Venetians may have handled the greatest quantities, others, such as Ambrose,

Corbet, Fetplace and the Huttoft family, are examples of those who played a considerable role both in terms of quantity and the range of places with which they forged trading links.

Town	Innkeeper	Inn	Year of account	Reference
Alresford	John Wellys	New Inn	1462–3	14.57r8
Alton	Henry	The George	1491–2	28.33r10
Alton		The Swan	1492–3	29.4.3r2
Andover		New Inn	1462–3	14.48r2; 14.57r1
Andover		The Hert	1492–3	29.2v11
Blandford [Forum]		The Swan	1461–2	13.60v5; 13.60v6,
Farnham		The Great Swan Inn	1462–3	14.57r1
Farnham		The Hert	1492–3	29.17v1
Frome	John Hosteler	Inn	1447–8	8.60r8
Guildford		The George	1492–3	29.18v11a
Newbury		The Hert	1492–3	29.25r8
Salisbury		The Angel	1538–9	37.51v3
Salisbury	Henry	The George	1430–1 1447–8	1.15r12; 8.51r8; 8.55r1
Salisbury		The Greyhound	1493–4	30.35r6
Salisbury		The Legge	1461–2	13.61r13; 13.61v1
Winchester		The Chequers	1430–1	1.17v12; 1.18v12

Figure 12.15: Distribution of wine to taverns.

Name and accounts used for calculations	Merchant of	Number of towns	Number of counties	Total gallons	Total tuns
Ambrose, Christopher: 1462–3, 1477–8,1491–2, 1492–3,1493–4, 1538–9	Southampton	23	13	32,323	128
Bartelmew, Richard: 1491–2, 1492–3	Salisbury	1	1	5,859	23
Baverini, Antonio: 1491–2, 1492–3,1493–4	Venice, Italy	1	1	37,716	150
Blewet, Robert: 1461–3	Southampton	15	11	12,090	48
Chenie, Richard: 1462–3, 1477–8, 1491–4	Salisbury	1	1	6,300	25
Coke, Thomas: 1477–8, 1491–4	Salisbury	3	2	18,051	72
Contarini, Moses: 1461–3	Venice, trading through Bristol	2	2	9,344	37
Corbet [Corbizzi], Gabriel: 1430–1, 1439–40, 1447–8	Southampton	9	6	2,804	11
Coteler, John: 1439–40, 1447–8, 1461–22, 1462–3	Winchester	1	1	19,501	77
Dymmok, Thomas: 1491–2, 1492–3, 1493–4	Southampton	6	6	5,607	22
Esilfeld, John**: 1492–4	Bristol	2	2	8,568	34
Fetplace, Walter: 1430–1, 1439–40	Sourhampton	18	8	9,576	38
Huttoft, Harry and Thomas: 1527–8, 1538–9, 1539–40	Southampton	16	6	9,702	39
Kelpryn, John	Salisbury	1	1	4,095	16
Lyster,Thomas, Master: 1527–8, 1538–9, 1539–40	Southampton	11	5	12,380	49
Ochòa, Martin: 1462–3	Spain	1	1	4,032	16
Ro[e]nager, Robert: 1538–9, 1539–40	Southampton	12	4	13,168	52
Tiepolo, Geronimo: 1491–2, 1492–3	Venice, Italy	1	1	27,972	111

*Indeterminate figures have been disregarded; figures have been rounded to nearest whole figure.

Figure 12.16: Principal distributors of wine.

Of course the following figures are not a record of the total trade of these people. Not every year has been sampled and the years represented may have been untypical: the merchant's best or worst year or even the end of an active trading life. Martin Ochòa, the Basque merchant, provides a useful example. It is known that he traded mainly iron and wine through Southampton for over

30 years, but occurs in only one year in the database. In 1441 he imported 20 tuns of Biscay wine, the same year that he took 165.5 tuns to Sandwich.[21] If the table is not a total record, it does indicate the volume and direction of trade undertaken and by whom. The distribution of wine to London is treated in Chapter 7.

Comparison between Groups of Wine Merchants

Italian merchants. The Italians played a key role in sending wine to London, but an extremely limited role in sending it to the regions. The Venetians, Giorgio and Giuliano Carold, Paolo Priuli, Filippo Cini (Philip Syne), and the Genoan Cattaneo family (Edoardo, Francesco, Severino and Ugo), plus five Spinolas (Benedetto, Chiaro, Demetrio, Lodovico and Leone) all sent wine exclusively to the capital. Antonio Spinola was the exception. Although he took wine to London, he also sent wine to Windsor, but on only one occasion (29.43v5). Paolo Morelli, the Florentine commission agent who lived at West Hall, Bugle Street, Southampton,[22] traded outside London, sending malmsey to Ludlow (1.1v7) and Salisbury (1.25v8), and sweet wine to Winchester (1.31r14). Piero Marini sent wine to Alton (8.91r2) and Andrea da Pisa to Winchester (3.133v4).

Christopher Ambrose, an Italian resident in Southampton, sent large quantities of wine to London, as much as 12 tuns on one occasion in June 1493 (29.54r6). Although Ambrose was trading in four 'account years' 1462–3 to 1493–4, his busiest year for wine on the London route was in 1492–3 when he sent 5,734 gallons (22.75 tuns) to the capital. However, the two Italians who stand out as major suppliers were Antonio Baverini (Baveryn) and Geronimo Tiepolo, two Venetians trading in much the same period, the early 1490s.[23] Unlike Ambrose who traded widely, Baverini and Tiepolo traded wine solely with London. In 1492–3 Baverini sent as much as 33,180 gallons (131.5 tuns). On one occasion in July 1493, 17 carts were needed to transport the 17 tuns wine to London on behalf of Baverini and Tiepolo, a shared cargo (29.56v7). It had already taken 19 carts on another single occasion in June 1493 to carry the 38 butts (19 tuns) which were going there for Tiepolo alone. Clearly, they were two key players in the wine trade in this period. Judging by these two examples alone, it is hardly surprising that the London figures for wine for 1492–3 are exceptional.

Spanish Merchants. In addition to the Italians, Spanish merchants participated in Southampton's wine trade. Martin Ochòa is one. Another is not identified by name, but simply entered as 'merchant of Spain'. Ochòa was particularly active in 1462–3 and accounted for 4,032 gallons (16 tuns) of wine sent entirely to London. The 'merchant of Spain', seemingly one person, was active in 1492–3 when he sent 10,899 gallons (43 tuns) of wine, to London, except for one hogshead, just 63 gallons, to Salisbury (29.41v8).

London merchants. Sixty London merchants sent wine directly to the capital, a substantial number. A sample features in Figure 12.17. Scholastica and William Boket took it elsewhere.

Southampton merchants. Christopher Ambrose sits comfortably both in the Italian and Southampton merchants' list. The quantity of wine he sent to London (included with Italians) boosted the contribution of Southampton merchants. As it stands, Southampton merchants had little involvement with the capital in terms of wine. Those who traded there include Andrew Blewet (14.13v6), Walter Clerke (mayor 1457–8, 29.31v3), Thomas Dymmok (29.57v5, mayor 1491, 1492, 1502), Lewis Eynes (22.18v7, mayor 1481, 1487), Andrew Jamys (14.61v2, mayor 1452), John Payn one-time mayor of the town (14.16r5),[24] and John Walker (14.14r5, mayor 1460, 1467, 1477). Apart from Thomas Dymmok, who sent 2,142 gallons (8.5 tuns) to London, all other quantities were small.

Name	Yr of account	Owner + status etc. 'of London'	Gallons of wine (all years)	Tuns of wine (all years)	Destination for wine
Abmond, John	1491–2	London, freeman, vintner	1764	7	London
Boket, Scholastica	1491–2	Recent wife of Wm Boket of London	6552	26	Salisbury
Boket[§] William	1461–2, 1462–3, 1477–8, 1491–2	London, Salisbury	4978	19.75	Salisbury
Cate, Robert	1477–8	London, freeman	3276	13	London
Destford, John	1462–3	London, vintner	5292	21	London
Gedge, John	1462–3	London, vintner	1512	6	London
Isak	1477–8	London, freeman, citizen	3780	15	London
Lewes, Thomas	1462–3	London, vintner	756	3	London
Pole, Thomas	1491–2, 1492–3	London, freeman	7813	31	London
Vintners of London	1462–3	London	756	3	London

[§]For William Boket, see below.

Figure 12.17: Importers of wine to London.

Winchester Merchants. In 1492–3 Richard Clerke and John Wheler both sent wine to London, Clerke sending just 126 gallons, Wheler 756 gallons (29.31v3 and 29.29r8).

The Regional Trade

Southampton merchants may not have traded to any large extent with London, but unlike many of their Italian counterparts, they were particularly involved in distributing wine to the regions. They were not liable to pay local custom in Southampton and could probably offer competitive rates which, even with transport costs added, were to the benefit of both parties.

Two Italians living and trading out of Southampton, Ambrose and Corbet, adopted a very different trading pattern from many of their Italian counterparts who traded wine, almost exclusively, with London. Ambrose sent wine to 23 towns in 13 counties. Ambrose had his busiest year, in terms of wine, in 1492–3. In that year he sent 16,318 gallons, approximately 65

tuns, to a wide range of places: Bridgwater, Bristol, Cirencester, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Guildford, Kingsclere, London, Newbury, Northampton, Odiham, Romsey, Salisbury, Shrewsbury and Worcester. Corbet sent wine to nine towns in six different counties.

Both Ambrose and Corbet were Italian by birth. Ambrose, who had been born in Florence, acquired denization in 1472 and based his trading interests in Southampton where he was a householder. He was clearly respected in the town where he served as mayor in 1486 and in 1497, a remarkable achievement for someone of Italian birth. Corbet, a Venetian-born sailor, had also become part of Southampton town life. He had purchased a house in English Street and another building, 'le Chayne', which was conveniently situated near Watergate. In 1453 he became sheriff of Southampton. A parishioner of Holy Rood, he left a bequest of £13. 6s. 8d which paid for wall paintings in the chapel of Our Lady, demonstrating the degree to which Corbet, like Ambrose, had become integrated into Southampton life. For this reason both men have been included with Southampton merchants on Figure 12.20.

London Merchants in the Regions. Of the 60 London merchants who traded with London, there were only 12 who traded elsewhere. However, if Dokkyng/Bokkyng (14.57v11 and 14.54r1) is counted as one person, as seems likely, and if an unnamed freeman of London is not included to avoid possible duplication, then just 10 traded elsewhere. These merchants were identified as William and Scholastica Boket (28.1r1 and 28.36v8), John Bokkyng/Dokkyng (14.54r1), John Burton (29.41r7), Robert Burton (1.5v1), John Clerke (1.16r13), Stephen Jenyn (28.1v5), John Lucar (33.4r5), John Payn (8.24r2) and Thomas Skot (Skutte, 8.59r7). Between them they sent wine to nine places other than London, shown in Figures 12.18 and 12.19.

These two figures clearly show that wine was only sent infrequently by Londoners to places other than the capital. With the exception of Salisbury and, to a lesser extent, Oxford, the quantity sent was relatively small, approximately 45 tuns. Of the 45 tuns, 7,876 gallons (31.25 tuns) went to Salisbury, 7,308 gallons or 29 tuns of which was sent there by William and Scholastica Boket. There are only two references, both in October 1491, to William Boket freeman of London, although he was for many years trading very actively in Salisbury where he served as mayor in 1483.[25] Scholastica, however, does not appear in the Salisbury accounts and is only connected with London. When William disappears from the records, she is referred to as 'recent wife of William Boket freeman of London. It seems likely that Boket moved to London and married Scholastica, who continued trading after his death. She is certainly accountable for sending considerable quantities of wine to Salisbury, 6,552 gallons or 26 tuns.

Town	Number of times wine sent to places outside London by London merchant	Number of gallons sent by London merchant outside London (all years)	Reference e.g.
Banbury	1	252	14.56v5
Burford	1	378	8.24r3
Coventry	1	252	14.54r1
Faringdon	1	252	28.1v5
Northampton	1	252	14.56v4
Oxford	4	1008	1.16r13
Salisbury	19	7876	28.1r1
Warwick	2	410	8.47r6
Winchester	2	630	1.5v1
Total		11,310	

Figure 12.18: Distribution of wine by Londoners to other destinations.

	Gallons
Total wine in name of London merchants	67,214
Total wine sent to London in name of London merchants	55,904
Total wine sent elsewhere in name of London merchants	11,310

Figure 12.19: Summary of distribution by Londoners.

Much of the regional trade was in the hands of local men and some of the Southampton merchants are identified in Figure 12.20. It shows John Bentham sending wine to 10 towns in five counties; John Arblaster to six towns in four counties; Walter Fetplace senior (four times mayor), to 17 towns in seven counties.

Between 1461–3, Southampton merchant, Robert Blewet (mayor 1471), sent 12,090 gallons (about 48 tuns) wine to 15 towns in 11 counties. A lot of his transactions were with counties in the West Midland area, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire and Shropshire. It was to Shrewsbury, for instance, that he sent his biggest consignment of wine, 2,016 gallons or 8 tuns (13.66v7), which took eight carts to transport. Clearly, Blewet, like Ambrose, did not confine his interests to neighbouring counties close to Southampton.

Robert Ronanger (Roenager), a major Southampton shipowner, was also a key merchant responsible for sending large quantities of wine to a variety of destinations including his hometown, Basingstoke. In addition to places in Hampshire, Ro[e]nager sent wine to a variety of towns in the nearby counties of Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire.

Thomas Beckyngham, mayor of Southampton in 1547–8, 'of Salisbury extraction', was responsible for distributing as much as 7,182 gallons (28.5 tuns) of wine to Alresford, Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester in 1538–40.

John Walker sent wine to a variety of places in 1461–3 and 1477–8. His busiest year was 1462–3 when he sent 44.5 tuns of wine out of Southampton. Walker traded with many places in 11 different counties. He was responsible for sending 20 tuns wine to Wiltshire, but the greatest quantity, 29 tuns, was for Gloucestershire, of which one was for Cirencester, one for Gloucester and the remaining 27 tuns for Bristol. He traded very little wine in Hampshire or, indeed, in the capital.

Southampton Merchant	Accounts	Towns wine sent to
Ambrose, Christopher (Italian by birth)	1462–3, 1477–8; 1491–94	Abingdon, Bridgwater, Bristol, Cirencester, Coventry, Derby, Devizes, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Guildford, Kingsclere, London, Lymington, Marlborough, Newbury, Northampton, Odiham, Oxford, Romsey, Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Warwick, Worcester
Arblester, John	1439–40, 1447–8	Alton, Burford, Cirencester, Gloucester, Oxford, Salisbury
Aylward, Robert, mayor 1436, 1441, 1449, 1453	1430–1, 1439–40, 1447–8	Basingstoke, Gloucester, Reading, Salisbury
Bekynghame, Thomas, Master	1538–40	Alresford, Romsey, Salisbury, Winchester
Bertham, John	1430–1	Abingdon, Basingstoke, Gloucester, Marlborough, Midsomer Norton, Newbury, Oxford, Reading, Salisbury, Wallingford
Blewet, Robert	1461–3	Bewdley, Bristol, Burton on Trent, Chipping Campden, Cirencester, Derby, Evesham, Farnham, Gloucester, Leominster, London, Oxford, Reading, Salisbury, Shrewsbury
Corbet, Gabriel (Italian by birth)	1430–1, 1439–40, 1447–8	Alton, Bristol, Hartfordbridge, Newbury, Oxford, Salisbury, Stockbridge, Wells, Winchester
Dymmok, Thomas	1491–3	Chipping Campden, Kennington, London, Salisbury, Wimborne Minster, Winchester
Felplace, Walter senior	1430–1, 1439–40	Abingdon, Alresford, Bristol, Devizes, Frome, Henley-upon-Thames, Marlborough, Newbury, Oxford, Reading, Ringwood, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Warminster, Wells, Wilton, Winchester
Huttoft, Harry (mayor 1524, 1534) Thomas, Master	1527–8, 1538–40	Abingdon, Alton, Andover, Burford, Ewell, Farnham, Holnest, Kingston, Newbury, Oxford, Romsey, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Sherborne, Wantage, Winchester
Jamys, Peter	1430–1, 1439–40	Burford, Devizes, Eynsham, Frome, Gloucester, Oxford, Salisbury, Warminster, Worcester
Lyster, Master [Thomas], mayor 1517, 1527, 1536, 1544	1527–8, 1538–40	Bishop's Waltham, Faringdon, Newbury, Oxford, Romsey, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Wimborne Minster, Winchester
Rofelnager, Robert	1538–40	Abingdon, Andover, Avington, Basingstoke, Hartley Row, Mottisfont, Newbury, Overton, Oxford, Ringwood, Salisbury, Winchester
Walker, John	1461–3, 1477–8	Abingdon, Alton, Blandford Forum, Bristol, Cirencester, Farnham, Gloucester, Guildford, London, Millbrook, Oxford, Reading, Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Wells, Winchester, Worcester

Figure 12.20: The wine trade of Southampton merchants.

Distribution of Wine to Salisbury

Salisbury was the destination for the greatest quantity of wine in six of the 12 years on the database. Wine was taken there for private individuals, the bishop (8.73v7), canons of the cathedral (8.34v10), the mayor (38.15r1), and for merchants such as John Halle (14.16r7), John Ironmonger (1.11v21), William Swayne (13.45v1) and William Webbe (28.30v2).

Wine left Southampton for Salisbury merchants such as Henry Baron who received 4,914 gallons (19.5 tuns) in 1430–1 (1.21r6); to William Boket 3,150 gallons in 1477–8; and Richard Bartelmew [Bartholomew] 5,859 gallons (23.25 tuns) between 1491–3 (29.48v4). Neither Henry Baron nor William Boket traded solely with Salisbury. As well as Salisbury, Baron sent wine to Odiham (1.11r6), Shaftesbury (1.9v13) and Winchester (1.9v4), and Boket to Ringwood and Winchester. Thomas Packer had just 378 gallons wine sent to him in Salisbury in 1439–40; in 1447–8, 4,536 gallons or 18 tuns was sent to him of which 756 gallons was rumney (8.49v5). In 1527–8, as much as 6,867 gallons or 27.25 tuns of wine was sent to Master Chaffyn, of which 126 gallons was malmsey. All the wine for Packer and Chaffyn was for Salisbury. While William Webbe and William Tavernere generally traded solely with Salisbury, both traded once with London, when Webbe sent tin and Tavernere sent wine (see Figure 12.21).

Salisbury could boast some ‘great’ merchants in this period, men like John Aport, Richard [Bartholomew], and Thomas Chaffyn, all importers of wine, yet its wine trade was not exclusively in the hands of Salisbury men.

Italian merchants participated in Salisbury’s wine trade to a limited extent. In 1430–1 Paolo Morelli, the Florentine agent, who, like Ambrose and Corbet, was based in Southampton, sent 252 gallons wine (1.25v8) and a further 126 gallons of malmsey. It was malmsey that Southampton Italian Corbet sent on two occasions to the Wiltshire city, once in 1430–1 (1.5v10) and once in 1439–40 (3. 79v7), but quantities were relatively small, just 126 gallons and 32 gallons respectively. Somewhat later, in 1492–3, Guglielmo Marini sent 252 gallons there (29.9r4). With 2,520 gallons or 10 tuns wine, Christopher Ambrose sent rather more in 1492–3. However, it was Moses Contarini, the Venetian, who traded through Bristol, who sent the greatest quantity to Salisbury with 5,366 gallons or 21 tuns, and this was in addition to the 3,978 gallons or 16 tuns which he sent direct to Bristol.

In 1492–3 a merchant of Spain sent just 63 gallons of wine to Salisbury (29.41v8), but the greatest quantity, which was not huge, was the 1,008 gallons sent by a merchant of Normandy in 1493–4 (30.34r3).

The few London merchants who sent wine to Salisbury have already been named, John Burton, John Lucar, John Payn, an unnamed freeman of London, and Scholastica and William Boket, who undoubtedly handled the greatest quantity with 7,308 gallon or 29 tuns. Although Boket sent wine to Salisbury on numerous occasions, it was only in 1491–2 that he was identified as a freeman of London.

A number of Southampton merchants sent wine to Salisbury, most notably Robert Ailward, Christopher Ambrose, John Bentham, Thomas Bekynghame, Thomas Dymmok and John Walker. Unlike the Southampton burgesses who were free from custom dues, Salisbury burgesses paid half rate by agreement; suggesting that there were economic advantages in using Southampton merchants for wine. Southampton shipowner Robert Ronanger sent 945 gallons (3.75 tuns) in 1539–40 (38.63r9); but it was Thomas Bekyngham, mayor of Southampton in 1547–8 and ‘of Salisbury extraction’ who sent as much as 4,347 gallons (17.25 tuns) there between 1538–40.

Salisbury merchants	Accounts	Towns (wine)
Aport, John	1439–40, 1461–3	Basingstoke, Reading, Salisbury, Warminster
Bartelmew, Richard	1491–3	Salisbury
Baron, Henry	1430–1	Odiham, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Winchester
Boket, William	1461–3, 1477–8, 1491–2	Ringwood, Salisbury, Winchester
Boket, Scholastica	1491–2	Salisbury
Charlyne, Master	1527–8, 1538–40	Salisbury
Che[a]rte Richard	1462–3, 1477–8, 1491–4	Salisbury
Coke, Thomas	1477–8, 1491–2, 1492–3, 1493–4	Alresford, Basingstoke, Salisbury
Coyett, John	1538–40	Alton, Salisbury
Estmere, Ralph Bruton	1447–8	Salisbury
Halle, John		
Hele, Thomas	1538–40	Salisbury
Kelpryn, John	1477–8	Salisbury
Pac[k]ker, Thomas	1439–40, 1447–8	Salisbury
Souter, John		
Swayne, William	1447–8, 1461–2	Salisbury
Tivernere, William	1447–8, 1461–3	Salisbury, London (once only)
Walker, Richard	1439–40, 1447–8	Salisbury
Webbe, William	1491–4, 1527–8	Salisbury, London (once only)
Whityngc, Thomas	1447–8	Salisbury

Figure 12.21: The wine trade of Salisbury merchants.

The number of people, 'merchants' of other places, sending wine to Salisbury is particularly noticeable. In 1439–40 wine was sent to Salisbury on five separate occasions for John Davy, a merchant of Wales (3.63v1). In 1447–8 alone, merchants from Bristol, Bruton, Devizes, Dover, Frome, London, Mere, Montacute, Salisbury, Shepton Mallet, Southampton, Taunton, Trowbridge, Warminster, Wells and Yeovil sent wine home. Many such destinations were cloth centres dependent on supplies of dyes and mordants which Salisbury, as a redistribution centre, was able to supply in exchange. Hence Salisbury was used by Moses Contarini, the Venetian who traded through Bristol, by Nicholas Long of Bristol, Thomas and Robert Ede of Bruton, and John Estfield, who, in November 1492, had as much as 4,410 gallons taken there for him. It took 23 carts to transport the 17.5 tuns of wine to Salisbury on behalf of this Bristol merchant.

There were scant trading links between Winchester and Salisbury in terms of wine. Winchester man, Stephen Wyse, sent 252 gallons to Salisbury in 1461–2 (13.67v10) and the treasurer of St Mary's Abbey sent 252 gallons of wine there in 1439–40 (3.85v1).

Distribution of Wine to Winchester

Four Italian merchants sent wine to Winchester, but only in the first half of the fifteenth century and overall the quantities were modest. They were Paolo Morelli, the Southampton Florentine agent, who sent sweet wine in 1430–1; Corbet who in the same year sent wine on three occasions – on one he sent malmsey and rumney, but the quantities were small, just 126 gallons of each (1.3v15); Andrea da Pisa sent wine there on two occasions in 1439–40;

Gherardo Galganetti sent 252 gallons in the same year (3.134r3).

Compared with their involvement in the supply of woad to the Hampshire capital, London merchants' contribution to the Winchester wine trade was negligible. Just two merchants sent wine there, both in the first half of the fifteenth century and only on one occasion each. Robert Burton sent must in 1430–1 (1.5v1) and Thomas Skot in 1447–8 (8.59r7).

Examples of Southampton merchants who sent wine to Winchester were Walter Fetplace who sent 126 gallons there in 1430–1, a small quantity compared with the amounts taken there by Harry and Thomas Huttoft (sheriff 1527) and Master Lyster, all active in the sixteenth century and all influential men in Southampton. The Huttoft family sent wine to 16 towns in six counties in the years on the database. Their busiest year was 1527–8, when they sent 9,450 gallons (approximately 38 tuns). In 1527–8 Harry Huttoft, and, on one occasion, his brother Thomas, sent 1,953 gallons (7.75 tuns) wine to Winchester. In the same year Lyster sent only 378 gallons. However, in the two-year period between 1538–40, Master Lyster sent 5,040 gallons (20 tuns). In the sample years Lyster sent wine to 11 towns in five counties. He supplied three towns in Berkshire, Faringdon, Newbury and Wallingford; two towns in Dorset, Shaftesbury and Wimborne; four towns in Hampshire, Alresford, Bishops Waltham, Romsey and Winchester; and one each in Oxfordshire and Wiltshire, Oxford and Salisbury respectively.

Thomas Beckyngham, a notable participant in the Italian trade,[26] sent 2,268 gallons (9 tuns) wine in 1538–40 (37.87r4). Another of Southampton's important merchants, shipowner Robert Ronanger, sent wine to Winchester on four occasions in 1538–9. His 756 gallons included 126 gallons of bastard, the sweet Spanish wine, and 126 gallons of sack (37.31v8).

Many of the Southampton merchants, Ambrose, Aylward, Blewet and Jamys, did not send wine to Winchester, which was one of Southampton's closest neighbours and a town with a ready demand for wine. This is surprising, given the number of other places to which these Southampton men did trade with wine. Figure 12.22 shows the Winchester wine trade was very much, though not entirely, in the hands of Winchester men, particularly John Cotelere, Nicholas Warnere and John Wodecok.

Winchester merchants

Bedam, Thomas	1527–8	Winchester
Bole, Richard	1447–8, 1461–3, 1477–8	Romsey, Winchester
Chalcroft, John	1491–4	Winchester
Coteler, John	1439–40, 1447–8, 1461–3	Winchester
Sylfester, Thomas	1439–40, 1447–8, 1461–3	Andover, Winchester
Tremayne, Thomas	1450–1, 1447–8	Andover, Winchester
Warnere, Nicholas	1430–1, 1439–40, 1447–8	Oxford and Winchester
Wilde [Wylde] Roger	1477–8, 1491–2	Winchester
Wodecok, John	1430–31, 1439–40	Alton, Reading, Winchester

Figure 12.22: Winchester traders in wine.

Bedam, Chalcroft and Sylfester dealt in a variety of commodities besides wine, but none traded beyond Winchester. Others however did. In 1439–40 Nicholas Warnere sent 252 gallons wine to Oxford in 1447–8 (3.68v3); Thomas Tremayne, a Winchester merchant, had wine delivered to Andover on three occasions, a total of 756 gallons. On eight occasions between 1461–3, Richard Bole despatched a total of 1,638 gallons (6.5 tuns) wine to Romsey (14.30v2). It was not just merchants of Winchester who sent wine elsewhere. Bishop Waynflete arranged for 252 gallons wine to be carried to Farnham in 1447–8 (8.4r5) and Bishop Gardiner for 189 gallons to Bishop's Waltham in 1539–40 (38.58v3), presumably for their households at the castle and palace respectively. They handled much smaller quantities than Coteler, Warnere and Wodecok.

John Coteler, vintner and merchant, was remarkable for the quantity of wine which he had carted to him in Winchester. This was the vintner who supplied St Swithun's Priory and Winchester College on occasion. Probably other great institutions such as Hyde Abbey and St Mary's Abbey also turned to him for some of their supplies. Duxbury found that Coteler concentrated on Winchester's wine trade, whereas Warnere and Wodecok carted to other locations as well.[27] Coteler was trading through a period of four accounting years on the database. His best year in terms of wine was 1447–8, when 46% of the total wine which went to Winchester was for Coteler – a total of 9,513 gallons, almost 38 tuns. His last accounting year was 1462–3 when he took 4,410 gallons, which represented 40% of the total quantity delivered to Winchester that year. Clearly, Coteler was a vintner and wine merchant of importance.[28]

Nicholas Warnere (Warynere) was identified by Keene as a wine taverner in 1421–2, and as mayor of Winchester in 1435–6, [29] when he lived in the High Street. Nicholas Warnere and Nicholas Warynere were evidently the same person, trading in exactly the same three accounting years. During these three years Warnere (Warynere) had in excess of 12,600 gallons (50 tuns) sent to him in Winchester; 5,166 gallons (20.5 tuns) in 1430–1 (1.31r9); 4,284 gallons (17 tuns) in 1439–40 (3.72r6); and 3,150 gallons (12.5 tuns) in 1447–8 (8.43r8).

John Wodecok also lived in Winchester High Street. He imported wine through Southampton and exported cloth. Hewas active in 1430–1 and 1439–40, and sent wine to Wallingford in 1444.[30] In 1430–1, as much as 2,394 gallons (9.5 tuns) wine (1.31r22) were sent to Wodecok in Winchester, and in 1439–40 slightly less, 2,016 gallons (8 tuns, 3.66r8).

Examples of other significant Winchester wine dealers were John Chalcroft 1491–4; Walter Spicer 1491–3; John Wheler, 1491–4 and Roger Wilde (1447–8 and 1491–2). Wilde served in town life as aulnager, bailiff and mayor; in 1477–8, 1,009 gallons (4 tuns) wine were sent to him in Winchester

(22.17v1). However, none could equal the scale on which John Coteler had traded earlier.

Distribution of wine to Bristol

Bristol, the second largest English provincial city in 1377, prospered for most of the fifteenth century. It was a busy port which exported cloth and imported wine and other goods. Therefore it is hard to understand why wine was being sent there overland from Southampton. Disruption of trade with France and competition from London may account for the large quantities of wine being taken to Bristol in some years. In 1461–2, 10,908 gallons (43 tuns) were sent straight to Bristol, 8,568 gallons (34 tuns) in 1492–3, but just 252 gallons (one tun) in the sixteenth century. Figures for wine going to Bristol are not straightforward, since some was sent there directly and some went to Salisbury for Bristol merchants, such as Moses Contarini (14.24v8), Nicholas Longe (8.90r9), Robert Strange (14.9v2), the renowned Robert Sturmy (8.86r11) and John Estfeld, for whom as much as 4,410 gallons or 17.5 tun was taken to Salisbury in 23 carts in November 1492 (29.14v10). Whether the wine that went to Salisbury for them was for onward distribution to Bristol, or for exchange or resale within the Wiltshire town, is not certain.

Significant merchants were responsible for sending wine to Bristol. In addition to Bristol merchants, such as Thomas of Bristol (28.35r10) and Nicholas Longe (8.90r9), wine was carted there for the Southampton merchants Robert Blewet (14.67r4) and John Walker (14.6v7), who sent large quantities in the 1460s, and Christopher Ambrose in the 1490s (29.49r6).

Distribution of Wine to Gloucester

Gloucester was situated approximately 80 miles from Southampton. With a Benedictine monastery, it was also positioned in close proximity to numerous cloth producing centres. The town received many cartloads of goods from Southampton, fruit and vegetables, supplies for the wool and cloth industry, but wine was the commodity which was carted there most frequently.

Gloucester took an average of 12 tuns of wine a year with quantities ranging from 1,008 gallons or 4 tuns to 5,544 gallons or 22 tuns. Most of the wine being sent to Gloucester was sent there for Gloucester men such as Andrew Bye, William and Jacob Ive and Philip Monger. In 1439–40, Philip Monger had 1,450 gallons sent there for him, and 2,898 gallons or 11.5 tuns in 1447–8. In 1462–3 Andrew Bye had 2,709 gallons (10.75 tun, 14.42r7) and William and Jacob Ive rather less in 1491–2 with 1,722 gallons just less than seven tuns (28.35r9) and John Estfeld (in 1492–3), 2,016 gallons or 8 tuns (29.53v1). Others who supplied Gloucester with wine were Hugo Mason and Laurence Draper, merchants of Hereford East. Southampton men also involved included Robert Aylward, Christopher Ambrose, John Arblaster,

Robert Belhowse, William Hekley and John Walker.

Distribution of Wine to Newbury

Two Italian residents, Corbet and Ambrose, sent wine to Newbury: Corbet in 1430–1 and Ambrose in the latter half of the fifteenth century, when he arranged for four tuns of wine to be dispatched to Newbury (1.10r14 and 22.13r2). Other Southampton merchants sent wine to Newbury; John Bentham in 1430–1 (1.12r24); Harry Huttoft in 1527–8 (33.62v3); Master Lyster in 1527–8 and 1538–9 (33.47v6) and Master Ronanger in 1538–40 (38.5v5). These were all substantial merchants. Ronanger sent over 17 tuns of wine (37.29v7), including 378 gallons of sack (37.60v6).

Distribution of Wine to Oxford

Wine was taken to Oxford every year. The largest quantity, 13,608 gallons or 54 tuns was taken there in 1430–1. No other year could equal that. The smallest quantity was in 1538–9 when it was just 504 gallons (2 tuns). On average 3,796 gallons (15 tuns) of wine was taken there each year. The Italian Guglielmo Marini sent one consignment of 252 gallons in 1492–3 (29.17r4). Ambrose and Corbet sent 756 gallons there in 1491–2 (28.3v1). Some of Southampton's leading merchants sent wine to Oxford in varying degrees: Ambrose, John Bentham 504 gallons in 1430–31 (1.40r4), John Arblaster 504 gallons in 1439–40 (3.137r3), Peter James 3,150 gallons or 12.5 tuns in the same year (3.33v1) and Robert Blewet with 2,016 gallons or 8 tuns in 1462–3 (14.65v1). In the sixteenth century, in 1527–8 for example, it was the Huttofts, Harry and Master, who dispatched 1,890 gallons (7.5 tuns) (33.21r4). That same year, Thomas and Master Lyster, sent even more, 2,268 gallons or 9 tuns (37.69v9).

London merchant John Clerke sent 1,008 gallons (4 tuns) to Oxford in 1430–1 (1.16r8). The Winchester merchant, Nicholas Warnere sent 504 gallons wine there in 1430–1 and again in 1439–40 (3.68v3). Walter Hilton, merchant of Nottingham, sent wine twice in 1477–8, a total of 756 gallons (3 tuns). Oxford merchants such as Thomas Ocowe (28.31r18), William Cole (28.38r4), John and Thomas Sawe (28.32r15) and William Copeland (29.13r3), all took wine to Oxford.

Distribution of Wine to Romsey

The small town of Romsey is situated about seven miles from Southampton from where it took many supplies in this period. With a wealthy house of Benedictine nuns, a weekly market and an annual fair, Romsey also served the surrounding area.

The average amount of wine consumed by Romsey each year was

approximately 12 tuns, though quantities varied between 8 tuns in 1439–40 and 19 tuns in 1492–3. 1492–3 was exceptional when compared with all other years. Much of the wine trade was in the hands of Romsey men such as John Metegeves in 1430–1. John Bole and John Hosier in 1447–8, sent as much as 1,827 gallons (7.25 tuns, SC5.5.8.35r5) and 1,449 gallons (5.75 tuns, SC5.5.8.34r10) to the town respectively. In the two year period 1538–40. Nicholas Sedgewick (Segewycke) sent 3,717 gallons (almost 15 tuns). It was Richard Molens who handled the greatest quantities, 3,213 gallons (12.75 tuns) in 1491–2 (5.28.12r4) and 3,245 gallons or nearly 13 tuns in 1492–3 (5.29.43r3). Others, notably John Smyth of Bristol (SC5.5.8.85r9), Richard Bole of Winchester (13.4v4), the Southampton merchants John William and Thomas Bekyngham in 1447–8, Christopher Ambrose in 1492–3, Harry Huttoft and Master Lyster in 1527–8 all sent wine to Romsey.

Conclusions

The maps show how wide was the geographic spread of places to which wine was distributed from Southampton: surprisingly wide for a bulk product. A major part was taken to Salisbury, closely followed by London. Winchester took the third greatest quantity. By the end of the period London was receiving its wine through other routes and took very little (none at all in 1539–40) from Southampton. The geographic spread of places and the number of counties had also contracted. Salisbury and Winchester were still taking large volumes, but the total amount coming into the port had reduced considerably. By 1540 wine was carried to fewer places that were closer to the port.

Italian and London merchants played key roles supplying the capital with wine. There is evidence of their participation in the regions, but this was only slight. The regional trade was very much in the hands of local merchants of whom only a few ventured very occasionally to the capital. Southampton merchants were particularly active in the regions. Salisbury had many important merchants, but, despite this, merchants of other places were involved in Salisbury's wine trade, in contrast to Winchester where the fifteenth-century wine trade was very much in the hands of Winchester men. By the sixteenth century leading Southampton merchants played a greater role in sending wine to the Hampshire capital.

Notes

1 Where more than one reference applies to a total quantity, just one example is offered as an example. An asterisk following 1430 and 1493–4 indicates incomplete figures for these years.
2 Coleman, 11.
3 Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 62.
4 James, *Wine Trade*, 176–186.
5 *Ibid*. 50–54.

6 *Ibid*. 52.
7 In 1436 wine was shipped to Arundel in Sussex for the king.
8 *The Southampton Steward's Book of 1492–3 and the Terrier of 1495*, ed. A. Thick, SRSer 38 (1995), xxxvi–xxxix.
9 305 km approximately.
10 379 km approximately.
11 Duxbury, thesis, 252.
12 Ruddock, 102–3.
13 See above (p. 120).
14 C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), 105.
15 S. Rose, *The Wine Trade in Medieval Europe 1000–1500* (London, 2011), 102.
16 *Ibid*. 101.
17 *VCH Hants*. ii. 172–175.
18 Harwood, St Swithuns, p. 70 and Harwood, thesis (2003), 254.
19 See J. Hare, 'Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England, 1350–1600', *Journal of Medieval History* 39.4 (2013), 477–497, at 481.
20 See Ch. 7.
21 Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, 228.
22 Ruddock, 98.
23 In terms of years on the database.
24 Payne was mayor of Southampton in 1450 and 1451 but was deposed from the mayoralty in May 1463 due to hostilities against foreigners, see Platt, *Southampton*, 175–6 and 254.
25 I am grateful to Dr John Hare for this information.
26 Platt, *Southampton*, 216.
27 Duxbury, thesis, 63–4.
28 See above Ch. 7.
29 Keene, *Survey*, ii. 1379.
30 *Ibid*. ii. 1391.

Chapter 13

COMMODITIES: LUXURY GOODS, SPICES AND WAX

Winifred A. Harwood

Introduction

Amongst the many entries for mundane yet vital imports which the broker recorded were some highly-priced and highly-prized commodities. These luxury goods arrived with the Italian fleets: expensive dyes, such as brasil and grain; fine silks and cloths; exotic fruits; spices; wax and wine. The most important was undoubtedly wine. If the standard wine was no longer considered a luxury, the more expensive sweet wines certainly were. All wine is dealt with separately in Ch. 12; dyes in Ch. 15; spices and wax, both expensive luxuries, follow in the second and third parts of this chapter.

Luxury Goods

Most, though not all, of the luxury goods, such as the more expensive dyes, exotic silks, spices and sweet wines, were sent to the capital, where they were in high demand and found a ready market. This trade in luxury goods was largely in the hands of Italian merchants. Making a selection of commodities which fall into the 'luxury' category was not easy; however, a random group is displayed on Figure 13.1. Not all can be discussed in this section. There are others which could have been selected for discussion, but were not. For instance, just three of the more expensive dyes have been chosen, brasil, grain and orchil.[1] Brasil was a red dye made from the wood of an East Indian tree; grain, the most expensive of all, was a scarlet dye made from the insect kermes; orchil was a violet dye made from lichen.[2] Two types of cloth have been picked, silk and camlet, the latter being a fine luxurious cloth made from camel hair, angora wool or silk. Also chosen were three types of fruit: lemons, oranges and pomegranates; and four sweet wines, malmsey, muscadel, rumney and 'sweet wine'. Apart from dried fruits and those already specified,

apples feature in the brokage books and very rarely, peaches, but there are numerous entries recording 'fruit', where the type is not specified.

All the towns to which the commodities were taken are shown in Figure 13.1. The third column indicates if there was Italian involvement. By combining the table with further detail from the brokage books the following conclusions have been reached.

Many luxury goods were carried to London by the Italians. For instance, camlet cloth, frankincense, gowns, pot sugar, pomegranates and silk went only to the capital. Other luxuries were distributed regionally as well. What is noticeable is that the luxury goods which went to Reading, Salisbury and Winchester were generally for leading merchants. Thus the expensive red dye grain went only to three places outside London: Bristol, Newbury, and Salisbury. It was sent by Christopher Ambrose to Bristol, despatched to Newbury for John Croke, the prominent merchant of Newbury identified by Yates as one of the 'wealthy men of the town',[3] and to Salisbury for William Eston, one of Salisbury's substantial merchants. The expensive spice cumin was sent exclusively to London by the Italians; but it was the Bristol merchant Nicholas Long [Lange] who despatched it to Bristol. Thomas Ede, the well-known merchant of Bruton, along with some of Salisbury's mercantile elite, William Boket, John Halle and William Lyghtfote sent it to Salisbury. Walter Fetplace senior, the Southampton merchant, took cumin to Reading. Overseas merchants are also seen conveying luxury goods to regional centres. Both Spanish and Portuguese merchants sent oranges to Salisbury, a merchant of Rouen despatched napery there, and another merchant of France sent haberdashery. Cologne thread was despatched to London for Matthew van der Creste (14.94v4).

Salisbury, the regional capital, received many consignments of fruit, spices, wine and other luxury goods such as Cologne thread (14.53v5), quilts (38.81r1), religious images (1.46v4) and even tennis balls (28.37v6). The range of spices being taken there was impressive, although quantities fell short of those being taken to the capital shown below. Surprisingly, comfits are recorded only twice and, on both occasions, it was to John Halle in Salisbury that they were taken. They could well have come from Palermo which, in this period, was renowned for sweetmeats such as candied orange peel.[4] Of the two consignments, the first, one barrel, was valued at 40 shillings (8.39r5), the second, 2.5C, was valued at £8, which calculates to about 7d. per lb (8.59v8). This was in 1447–8. Clearly, they were luxury items that John Halle was having delivered to Salisbury. Luxury goods, to a lesser extent, were also taken to Winchester and, just occasionally, to other towns and villages of Hampshire and neighbouring counties.

Commodity	Town	Italian involvement
Clothing		
gowns	London	Giuliano Carold and Demetrio Spinola
Dyes		
brasil	Abingdon, London, Winchester	mainly Italians but also Jeffelyn and Christopher Ambrose
grain	Bristol, London, Newbury, Salisbury	mainly by Italians and Jeffelyn to London; Christopher Ambrose to Bristol (1) John Croke of Newbury (1) William Eston Salisbury (1)
orchil	London	one consignment for an Italian another for a freeman of London
Fabric		
camlet cloth	London	Jeffelyn (1) and Master Wellys (1)
silk	London	mainly Italian, but also Jeffelyn and Christopher Ambrose
Fruit		
lemons	London, Salisbury	mainly Italian
oranges	Basingstoke, Blandford Forum, London, Reading, Salisbury, Winchester	Italian only once to London
pomegranates	London	the queen
Household		
bankers	Newbury	omitted
carpets,	Winchester	men of London
coverlets	Winchester	men of London
glass	London, Mottisfont, Salisbury, Winchester	Italian to London once only
glasses	Salisbury, Winchester	John Gildon Southampton, Bishop of Winchester
Other		
Cologne thread	London, Salisbury	Edward Kryte of Cologne; Matthew van de Creste; no Italian
frankincense	London	Italian
napery	Winchester, Salisbury	merchants of Rouen and others; no Italian
haberdashery	Bristol, Salisbury	Natale and Piero d'Antivori, Italian, and other non-Italian
Spices		
aniseed	Bristol, London, Salisbury, Winchester	Italians, London exclusively
cumin	Bristol, London, Reading, Salisbury, Winchester	Italians, London exclusively
ginger	Bristol, London, Salisbury	Italians, London exclusively; also Christopher Ambrose
saffron	Henley-upon-Thames, London	mainly Italian to London
sugar	Abingdon, London, Odiham, Oxford, Salisbury, Winchester	Italians, London exclusively
pot sugar	London	John Walker, Southampton
Wines		
malmsey	Alton, Bridgwater, Bristol, Gloucester, London, Ludlow, Newbury, Odiham, Romsey, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Staines, Warminster, Winchester, Wolverton	Giuliano Carold to London; Paolo Morelli malmsey to Ludlow; Gabriel Corbet to Salisbury and Winchester
muscadel	Winchester	Bishop of Winchester
romney	Alresford, Alton, Bishop's Waltham, Bristol, Cirencester, Farnham, Highworth, London, Oxford, Ringwood, Romsey, Salisbury, Southwick, Staines, Winchester	Gabriel Corbet to Alton and Winchester; Spaniard to London once only.
sweet wine	Gloucester, London, Salisbury,Winchester	Italians to Winchester (Paolo Morelli) and London

Figure 13.1: Digest of luxury destinations.

Generally speaking, most of the luxury items arriving in Southampton were taken to the capital. Cargoes of silk, probably from Messina, a well-known centre for silk production,[5] arrived in the port for onward distribution. Of the 16 entries for silk in the years analysed, all were destined for London and almost entirely for Italians, such as Paolo Morelli, Edoardo and Gregorio Cattaneo and Gherardo Canigiani (Gerard Canyson). The fine cloth known as camlet, which was only mentioned twice in these records, was on both occasions sent to London. It was while he was in London in 1471 that John Paston III was asked to buy '3 yards of purple camlet price 4s. per yard'.[6] The

expensive red dye, brasil, was taken almost entirely to London for Italians such as Canigiani, Giuliano Carold and Gregorio Cattaneo. However, it was also sent once to Abingdon and Winchester and one consignment even went to Kendal on horseback. Ambrose, the Florentine merchant working out of Southampton, was also involved in the London trade and had brasil sent there in 1491–2. Small amounts of the scarlet dye 'grain', the most expensive dye, were sent to Bristol, Newbury and Salisbury. Far more went to the capital and was almost entirely in the hands of the Italians, generally the Genoese families of Cattaneo and Spinola.

Another luxury item, paper, was distributed to three places: London, Salisbury and Winchester. In terms of total quantity, more than twice as much went to London than to Salisbury and Winchester combined, with 108 bales, 38.5 bales and 0.5 bales respectively. The one consignment of writing pens went only to London for the Genoan, Edoardo Cattaneo (8.49v2). Frankincense, possibly from the bazaars of Levant,[7] was sent to London for the Italian Andrea Spinola in 1439–40 (3.72r8).

From southern Spain, ships arrived with fruit. While oranges were for widespread distribution to Basingstoke, Blandford Forum in Dorset, Reading, Salisbury, Winchester as well as London, lemons, which only featured twice in these records, went on one occasion to Salisbury (22.1r9) and on another to London for the Italian Edoardo Cattaneo (8.57v5). The pipe of pomegranates in 1492–93 was sent to London for the queen, Elizabeth of York.

Obviously the luxury goods conveyed to London did not always remain there. Local studies have shown that people of status from large households were prepared to travel to make their purchases when occasion demanded it. It was from London that the hordarian of St Swithun's Priory, Winchester, had a new bridle and saddle sent to him at Oxford.[8] It was from the capital that Winchester College purchased wax at the end of the fifteenth century, and it was also from London that the Paston family of Norfolk enquired about purchasing fabrics and spices.

Spices

The records measure spices in a variety of different ways such as bags, bales, ballettes, barrels, butts, cases, chests and quarters. It is, therefore, very difficult to be precise about quantity. To try and compensate for this, it has been possible to count the number of times a specific spice was taken out of Southampton, and to gain an idea of whether it was a regular or a very rare occurrence. Although not an ideal method, it gives an impression of the frequency of trade.

Before discussing Southampton's role in the spice market, it is useful to consider the term 'spice'. For this project, Dyer's helpful definition has been adopted.[9] Spices were 'two types of imported foodstuffs. Firstly, there were the dried fruits (notably currants, dates, figs, prunes and raisins) with almonds,

rice…; and secondly the strongly flavoured spices, cinnamon, cloves, ginger, mace, pepper, sugar and many more'.[10]

All the spices in the brokage books have been divided into two categories and listed below: the strongly flavoured aromatic spices are shown first as group 1, the dried fruits as group 2. All spices on these lists were taken to London in one year or another; almost the entire range went to Salisbury, but not nutmegs and saffron. Quantities taken to Salisbury were generally much smaller than the amount sent to the capital. Spices were a very expensive luxury product. Even some magnate households chose to use the more common flavourings of salt, vinegar, mustard, garlic and onions, while reserving the more expensive spices for special occasions. It was, therefore, hardly surprising that Margaret Paston, from a gentry household in Norfolk, asked her son to ascertain spice prices when in London. If cheaper she preferred to buy in the capital. In the same way, Winchester College also purchased goods in London when beneficial to do so.[11]

Group 1 Spices

aniseed	Bristol, London, Salisbury, Winchester	1439–40 and 1447–8; not in 16th century
cinnamon	London, Salisbury	not in 16th century
cloves	London, Newbury, Salisbury	not in 16th century
cumin	Bristol, London, Reading, Salisbury, Winchester	not in 16th century
ginger	Bristol, London, Salisbury*	once in 16th century
ginger, green	London, Salisbury, Winchester	not in 16th century
mace	London, Salisbury	not in 16th century
nutmeg	London only	not in 16th century
pepper	Various	not in 16th century
pepper, long	London	not in 16th century
saffron	Henley upon Thames, London	not in 16th century

*ginger was not sent to Winchester but green ginger was, ginger was sent to Bristol but not green ginger.

Figure 13.2: Destinations of imported spices, Group 1.

Group 2 Spices

almonds	various places, mainly London and then Salisbury, Oxford, Winchester	most years, not in the 16th century
currants	mainly London; Abingdon, Bristol, Coventry, Guildford, Northampton, Oxford, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Winchester	not in the 16th century
dates	mainly London; Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester	
figs	various, mainly London, Salisbury, Winchester	
prunes	London, Salisbury, Winchester	
raisins	mainly London, Salisbury, Winchester; wide range of places; including Coventry (more than once), Kendal (1492–3), Northampton (1462–3)	all years except 1491–2
raisins, white	unknown	only in 1493–4
rice	London, Oxford, Reading, Salisbury	not in the 16th century
sugar	Abingdon, London, Odiham, Oxford, Salisbury, Winchester	
sugar; pot sugar	London	only 1462–3

Figure 13.3: Destinations of imported spices, Group 2.

The spices which passed through Bargate were taken to 13 counties and to 37 different towns, which represent only about 12% of the approximately 300 towns which appear in the brokage books. Of these 37 towns, some destinations such as Mells in Somerset (22.5v10) and Worcester (22.8v1) only received spices, in this case, almonds, on one occasion. Romsey, which had

spices delivered in eight of the 12 years, only received the limited range of almonds, figs, pepper and raisins. Not all went there in each year. This pattern was representative of many places. The greatest quantities and varieties went to Bristol, London, Oxford, Salisbury and Winchester. However, no spices at all went to Bristol or Oxford in the sixteenth century from Southampton. Such places were clearly receiving them through other supply routes. In the later years, the total number of towns to which spices were despatched had reduced to 12; and the spices taken to them, apart from ginger, were mainly from group 2; dates, figs, prunes, raisins, and sugar.

The aromatic spices only feature in the fifteenth-century accounts[12] and were noticeably handled by just a few people, namely the Italians in London and, in Salisbury, by men such as Halle and Lyghtfote, members of the town's mercantile elite. The distribution of group 1 (aromatic spices) is shown on Maps 8A, 8B and 9.

Aniseed only features in the accounts in two years, 1447–8 and 1439–40. A total of 24 bales passed through Southampton in these years, of which one went to Bristol, two to Winchester, one bale and one small balette to Salisbury and the remaining 20 bales all went to London to the Italians. Of the quantity that went to Salisbury, one bale was for Thomas Ede, merchant of Bruton.

Cinnamon. Twelve consignments of cinnamon were taken to London, mostly for Italians, and two consignments went to Salisbury, one for Halle the other for Lyghtfote.

Cloves were taken to London on three occasions for the Italians; once to Newbury merchant John Croke; and twice to Salisbury for Lyghtfote and Halle.

Cumin. Over 100 bales of cumin were carted out of Southampton.[13] Of these, one bale was taken to Bristol, one bale to Winchester and one to Reading for Walter Fetplace. Ten and a half bales were taken to Salisbury, of which one bale each was for Thomas Ede of Bruton, Halle and Lyghtfote. The remaining 87 bales went to the capital, mainly for the Genoese Edoardo and Francesco Cattaneo and Demetrio Spinola, and the Venetian Paolo Priuli.

Ginger was carried in various types of packaging: bags, bales, balettes, barrels, cases, chests and sacks. It is impossible to attempt any accurate calculation, and so the number of consignments is counted. Of a total of 76 consignments taken out through Bargate, 72 went to London, three to Salisbury and one to Bristol. In Bristol, the ginger was for Thomas Parman. The two known recipients in Salisbury were Halle and Lyghtfote. In London the ginger was sent for Ambrose, Jeffelyn, Francis Musserell, and Niccolò da Agra (Aguero).

Green Ginger was transported in barrels and was more highly valued than white ginger. During the same period, London took 36 barrels, Salisbury eight and Winchester just one. Of the eight barrels which went to Salisbury, one was for John Halle in April 1448 and was valued at £5. It was to an apothecary of Salisbury that another barrel of green ginger was taken in July

1462. It had been valued at £4. In October 1477 eight barrels were taken to London for the Italian Canigiani. In the following month eighteen barrels were taken there for the Italian Vittori Company (Vittorio di Campagno). As with all other spices most, although not all, were in Italian hands.

Mace is an aromatic spice that was taken out of Southampton on just four occasions. Three times it left for the capital and once for Salisbury for William Lyghtfote. One of the three consignments which went to London was for Musserell, the other two for Ambrose.

Nutmegs were sent out of Southampton on just four occasions, on each they went to the capital; in September 1440 they were for the Genoan, Andrea Spinola; twice in June 1448 they were for the Venetian Giuliano Carold; in January 1494 a barrel of nutmegs was sent to London by Edward the galleyman.

Pepper was, after sugar, the most common spice in the medieval world. It was a staple ingredient of medieval kitchens, and was used in much larger quantities than it is today.[14] It was much more widely distributed than such other spices as mace, nutmeg and saffron. From Southampton it was taken to 12 different places, some of which, Barnstaple, Coventry and Oxford, were approximately 100 miles or more from the port. Most places received just the occasional consignment, only half a bale went to Gloucester and Winchester and only in one year, 1439–40. London received a total of 109 consignments, by far the greatest quantity. However, none at all went to the capital in 1492–3, nor in the sixteenth century. Once again, the Italians had a strong involvement in supplying London.

Saffron, the orange-yellow spice used for flavouring and colouring food and produced from the dried stigmas of crocii, was in a league of its own. A very expensive commodity, it was valued at 12s. to 15s. per pound in the later middle ages.[15] Initially saffron was imported through Southampton. Following the Black Death, when land became more available due to the reduced population and falling demand for cereals, saffron production started in England. It was a lucrative crop in terms of the price paid for it, and saffron became widely grown in the Cambridge/Essex area where it flourished in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. By the early 1500s Walden in Essex (now Saffron Walden) had become the centre of the saffron trade.[16]

Unlike spices such as cinnamon, cloves, mace and nutmegs, which continued to arrive in Southampton in the 1490s, the last entry for saffron, in the brokage books examined, was in 1462–3. Evidence from other records shows that some people from London were using locally produced saffron. Thomas Huddleston (Hodylston), haberdasher of London, purchased 'English' saffron from a John Wode at Fulbourn in Cambridgeshire.[17] This local factor could account for the changing pattern of supply.

In those years when saffron was brought in through Southampton, it was only taken to Henley-upon-Thames once, and on four occasions to London. Three of those four deliveries were to the Italians. Twice in 1447–8 a case and

a bale of saffron went to Edoardo Cattaneo and, that same year, a sack of saffron went to Pietro Marini. The other occasion in April 1463, it was conveyed to John Warde, a London grocer and alderman (1478–1501). Warde had been apprenticed to Thomas Hawkins (Hawkyn), grocer, from whom he obviously learnt the trade.[18]

The range and quantity of spices taken to the capital in the mid-fifteenth century declined by the 1490s as Figures 13.4 and 13.5 demonstrate. Clearly aniseed, cumin, figs, nutmegs, raisins, rice and saffron were no longer taken to London whereas mace, which was not taken there in 1447–8, was now carried.

Turning next to the group 2 spices, nuts and dried fruits mainly came from ports of southern Spain and elsewhere in the Mediterranean area, such as Corinth in Greece.[19] Their redistribution is shown in Maps 10A, 10B and 11.

Almonds, which Ruddock suggests derived from Valencia, were used in very large quantities in medieval kitchens for producing almond-milk, which was an ingredient in a range of cooking from simple fare to dishes at great banquets.[20]

Almonds were carted to Salisbury from Southampton in all years before the sixteenth century. They totalled 53.5 bales plus indeterminate quantities, 3C, 56 bags, 4 sackets, 1 balette and 4 pipes. Almonds were carted to the capital in all years apart from 1492–3 and, like Salisbury, none at all in the sixteenth century. London, with 538.5 bales plus numerous indeterminate quantities as shown in Figure 13.6, undoubtedly surpassed Salisbury in terms of the quantity going there.

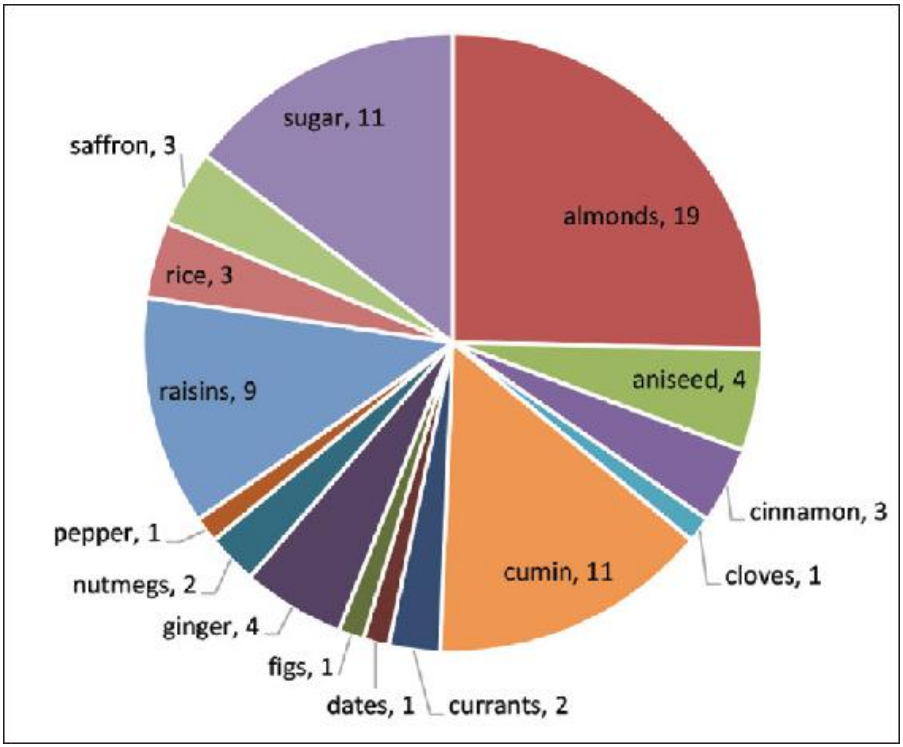


Figure 13.4: Spices taken to London 1447–8 (counted consignments).

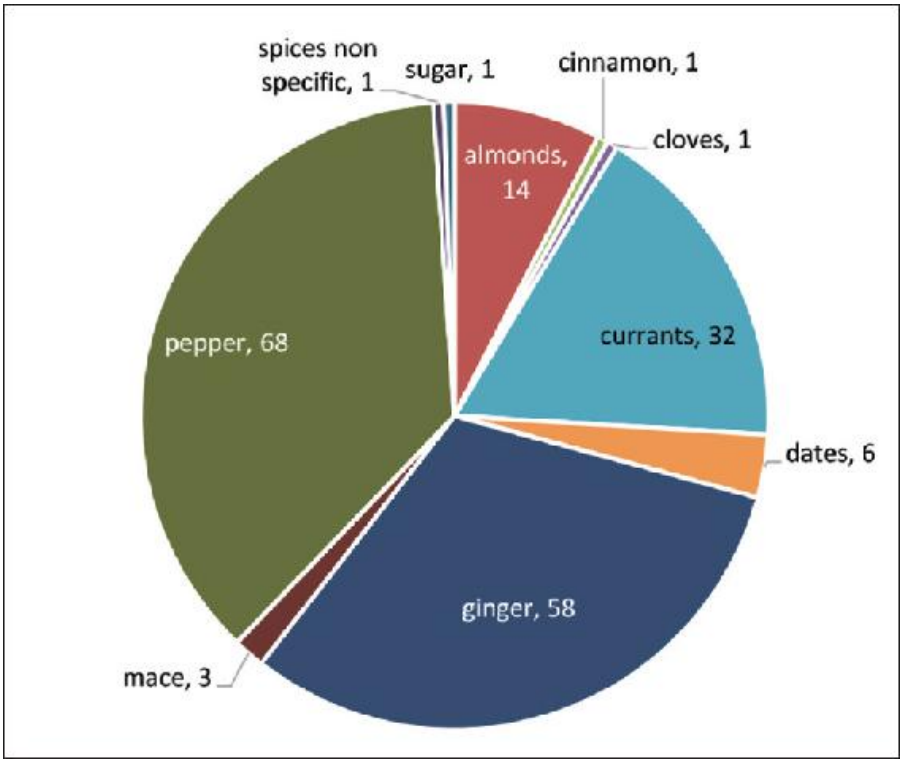


Figure 13.5: Spices taken to London 1491–2 (counted consignments).

Year	No. of bales	Indeterminate quantities
1439–40	155	–
1447–8	148	plus 41 baskets
1461–2	25	plus 2 bags
1462–3	40	
1477–8	23	49 barrels, 98 bags, 8 balettes, 6 butts, 4 puncheons and 20 hogsheads
1491–2	68	2 butts, 6 hogs heads and 7 indeterminate
1493–4	–	3 carts and 24 hogs heads

Figure 13.6: Imports of almonds 1439–94.

The Italians Canigiani, Edoardo, Francesco and Gregorio Cattaneo, Cristoforo di Poggio and Andrea, Antonio, Demetrio and Simone Spinola arranged for almonds to be sent to London. Thomas Coke, Thomas Grafton, John Payn, and John Warde among others also engaged in the trade.

Currants were sent in far the greatest quantity to the capital, but they were also delivered to nine other towns in eight different counties. One of the dealers in currants was the Venetian Paolo Priuli, although Ambrose, Antonio Baverini (Antony Baveryn) and Jeffelyn were also involved. Currants taken to Salisbury were for important traders such as William Boket and Richard Bartelmew. Those that were taken to Winchester were for John Gander and

Walter Spicer, both freemen of Winchester.

Dates were taken overland from the port in most years, but not in 1430–1, 1492–3, nor in 1538–40. They were only despatched to four locations: Gloucester, London, Salisbury and Winchester. Just one consignment each is recorded to Gloucester and Winchester, ten to Salisbury and 25 to London. They are recorded in bales, butts, C, frails, hogsheads and pipes. Comparison of quantities going to each place, therefore, is extremely difficult. Dates were taken to Philip Monger in Gloucester, Stephen Bramdean in Winchester in 1493–4, the year he was mayor, and to William Boket, William Eston and William Lyghtfote in Salisbury. In London some of the dates were for the Italians, Gregorio Cattaneo and Andrea and Demetrio Spinola, but also for others such as William Bledlow, John Warde, Jacob Fynche and Roger More, freemen of London.

Figs were carted to 15 different towns; one consignment was sent to London for the queen in 1492, another to the abbot of Hyde in Winchester. More entries reveal figs being delivered to Salisbury than to any other town, even the capital. Regrettably it is impossible to compare quantities for this commodity. By the end of the period, when trade through Southampton was considerably quieter, figs were still being imported and, in 1538–9, they were taken to Newbury, Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester and, in 1539–40, to Andover, Odiham, Salisbury and Winchester.

Prunes from the Mediterranean, probably from Sicily,[21] were carted to only three destinations, London, Salisbury and Winchester. They do not feature before the latter part of the fifteenth century, the first entry being in 1477–8. Most left Southampton in the early years of the sixteenth century. The capital took 12 barrels in total but, judging by the indeterminate quantities, more went to Salisbury.

Raisins from the Mediterranean and especially from southern Spain arrived in a variety of different packages such as bags, barrels, butts and frails. The frail was a rush basket containing about 75 lb of raisins. Apart from London, raisins were taken to 27 towns in 11 different counties. In readiness for the Lenten diet, they were taken to the abbess of Romsey in February 1462 (13.28r10), to the abbot of Hyde in Winchester on 30 December 1527 (13.18v5), and to the prior of St Swithun's, Winchester, on 18 February 1539 (37.39r5).

Rice was taken to London five times, on each occasion by the Italians. It went to Oxford and Reading once, Reading taking three bales and Oxford only one. It went to Salisbury on four occasions, including once for John Halle and once for Thomas Halle.

Sugar and Pot Sugar were carted to six different places, namely, Abingdon, London, Odiham, Oxford, Salisbury and Winchester. Again, it is difficult to compare how much sugar went to each place simply by looking at the number of times the commodities were taken to them. By combining the number of cases of sugar with the indeterminate quantities as shown in Figure 13.7, it is

obvious that sugar overwhelmingly went to London.

To summarise, Figures 13.8 and 13.9 demonstrate the fairly vibrant spice trade between Southampton and the capital in the fifteenth century. Almonds were taken to the capital on the greatest number of occasions (111) followed by pepper (107) and currants (73). The greatest variety of spices taken there in any one year, 14, left in 1447–8, and the greatest number of carts to leave the port with spices on board (185) left in 1491–2. In that year ten different types of spices went to London, the high peak for ginger (with 58 occasions shown in green) was only surpassed by that for pepper (with 68 occasions and shown in blue).

While a wide range of spices in varying quantities were taken to London in the fifteenth century, Figures 13.8 and 13.9 highlight that only dates, ginger, raisins and sugar were sent there in the sixteenth century and on only six occasions. Figure 13.8, which represents carts carrying spices in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, reveals scarcely any deliveries in 1538–9 and just one occasion when one spice, sugar (shown in pink), was taken to London in 1539–40.

Towns	No. times taken out	No. of cases	No. indeterminate quantities	Indeterminate quantities represent
Abingdon	1	1	Nil	–
London	42	332	22	1 basket; 32 barrels; 3 butts; 10C; 10 cartloads of which 3 for the king; 4 coffers; 2 loads unknown; 1 pipe
Odiham	1	1	Nil	–
Oxford	7	7	1	50 lb value 13s. 4d; 1 pipe; 1 leaves
Salisbury	17	43	4	1 bale; 2C; 9C value £5 6s. 8d; 1 case
Winchester	3	2	2	0.5C; and 1 butt

Figure 13.7: Distribution of sugar.

Spices	Counted occasions per spice all years	1439–40	1447–8	1461–2	1462–3	1477–8	1491–2	1492–3	1493–4	1527–8	1538–9	1539–40
Almonds	111	25	19	5	3	23	14		6			
Aniseed	7	3	4									
Cinnamon	12	4	3		3	1	1					
Cloves	3		1		1		1					
Cumin	15		11		3							
Currants	73		2	22	1	4	32	3	9			
Dates	23	3	1	2		1	6		8	2		
Figs	10		1									
Ginger	72	1	4			1	58		6	1		
ginger, green	5			1	1	3						
Mace	3						3					
Nutmegs	4	1	2						1			
Pepper	107	19	1	2	1	1	68		25			
pepper, long	1	1										
Prunes	3								3			
Raisins	28		9	1	5	4		4	1	2		
Rice	5	2	3									
Saffron	4		3		1							
spices non specific	39						1		36			
Sugar	41		11		5	1	1	1	22			1
sugar, pot	1				1							
Counted occasions spices per year		50	75	33	21	39	185	8	115	5		1

Figure 13.8: Distribution of spices to London (counted occasions).

Even though the aromatic spices ceased to be brought ashore in Southampton when the Italians stopped using the port, there are many entries in the brokage books showing that Salisbury merchants still used Southampton for the dried fruits, figs, prunes, raisins and sugar which arrived there by sea from Portugal and Spain. In 1549–50, figs and raisins and other victuals were delivered to Winchester College direct from Southampton. Yet twice that same year spices (presumably aromatic ones) were sourced and bought in London and then transported to the college in Winchester.[22] London's supply route for spices had changed. Expensive aromatic spices still being marketed in the capital no longer entered the country through Southampton.

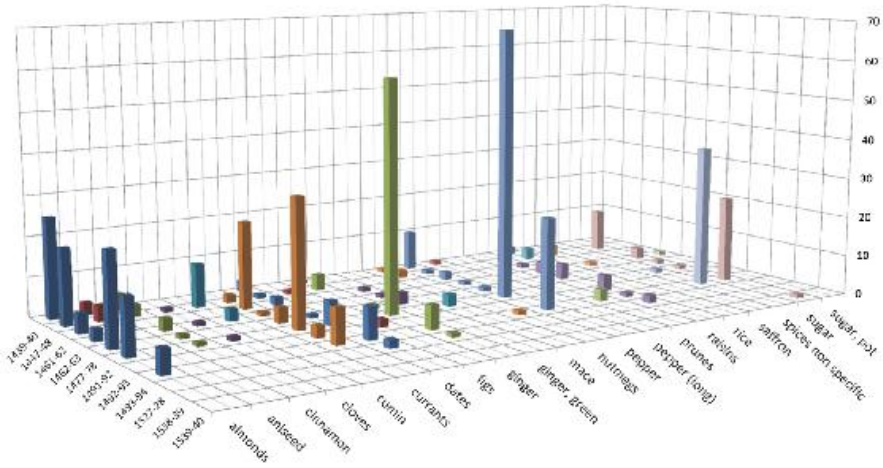


Figure 13.9: Distribution of spices to London 1430–1540 (counted occasions).

Wax[23]

The final luxury product to be discussed here is wax. It was expensive and used almost entirely for religious purposes. Ordinary people used the cheaper option of tallow candles, tallow featuring only in the brokage books to a lesser extent. Wax candles and tapers of varying sizes were consumed in large quantities by the numerous religious institutions, abbeys, churches, convents and intercessory foundations, such as Winchester College. As an example, Winchester College purchased over 200 lb every year between 1447 and 1557. Wax chandlers, therefore, needed copious supplies of wax to enable them to supply their customers.

Although wax was home produced in small amounts,[24] much larger quantities had to be sourced to satisfy the great demand from chandlers. Between 1430 and 1490 the brokage books record wax entering the country through Southampton, and in occasional years thereafter, as seen in the Southampton port book of 1509–10. Unfortunately, unlike the bursars at Winchester College, who stated whether the wax had originated from Lisbon, the Mediterranean or Poland, the broker did not. In this period most wax recorded at Bargate probably came from Spain and Portugal.[25] Trading patterns changed. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Hanseatic merchants imported large quantities from Russia, Livonia and Prussia, using London as the main entry port. This had a bearing on the quantity arriving in Southampton recorded in the table which follows. From a highpoint in the mid fifteenth century, there was a marked decline until the 1490s which show a very slight rally in 1492–3, though when compared with 1447–8 the total quantity is very small. By this time the Hanseatic merchants were dominating the wax trade through their chosen port of London. The distribution of wax

from Southampton is plotted in Maps 12A and 12B.

Measurement

The brokage books measure wax in bales, baskets, butts, ‘C’, cake, pieces, and quarters. Generally, it is measured in bales and ‘C’. It is difficult to determine what the broker intended when writing ‘C’; whether one hundred or a ‘centena’ or hundredweight was meant. (Research on wax undertaken on the bursar’s accounts of Winchester College in the same period showed that ‘C’ could vary between 100 and 112 lb). Many entries refer to bales, but a bale could vary in weight between commodities, generally between 4 and 5C, sometimes less, but always more than ‘C’. Due to these complexities, it was not possible to convert wax to one common unit.

Distribution of Wax from Southampton

Figure 13.10 shows the quantity of wax arriving in Southampton in bales, C and indeterminate quantities. It is not easy to make comparison between these collective quantities. The overall quantities of wax arriving in Southampton for onward distribution were not large. More wax arrived in the first half of the fifteenth century, with declining quantities in the later years, and no wax at all after 1493.

However, if it is assumed that a bale equalled 2C, and then 4C, a clearer picture can be seen (see Figs 13.11 and 13.12).[26]

The next series of charts show where wax was carted from Southampton (Figs 13.13–13.15). Wax was distributed to very few places and to only four counties. London, Salisbury and, to a lesser extent, Winchester and Romsey were the main consumers of wax. The furthest it was carted was approximately 80 miles to London. Again, equating a bale to 2C and then 4C a clearer picture emerges (Figs 13.14 and 13.15).

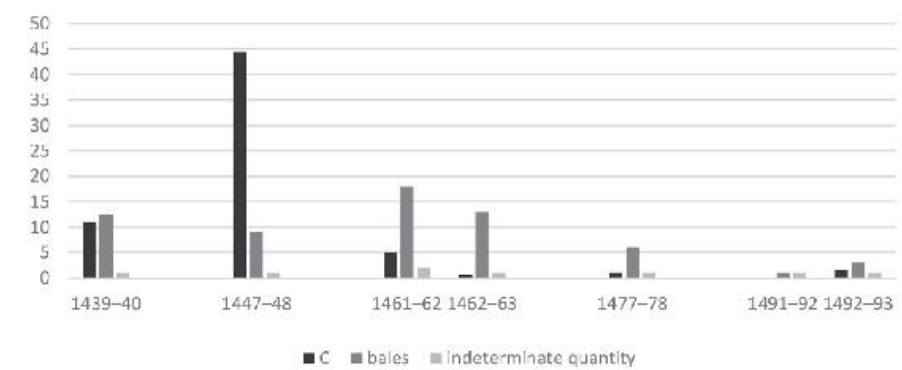


Figure 13.10: Distribution of wax from Southampton by year (excluding 1430–1).

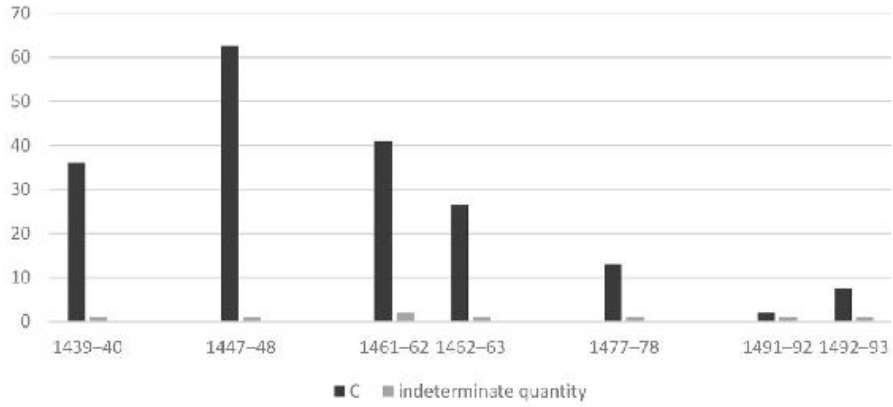


Figure 13.11: Distribution of wax from Southampton by year (excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 2C.

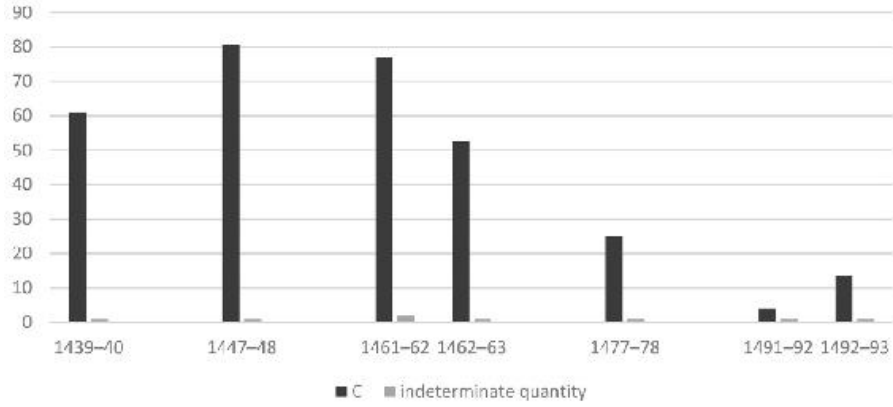


Figure 13.12: Distribution of wax from Southampton by year (excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 4C.

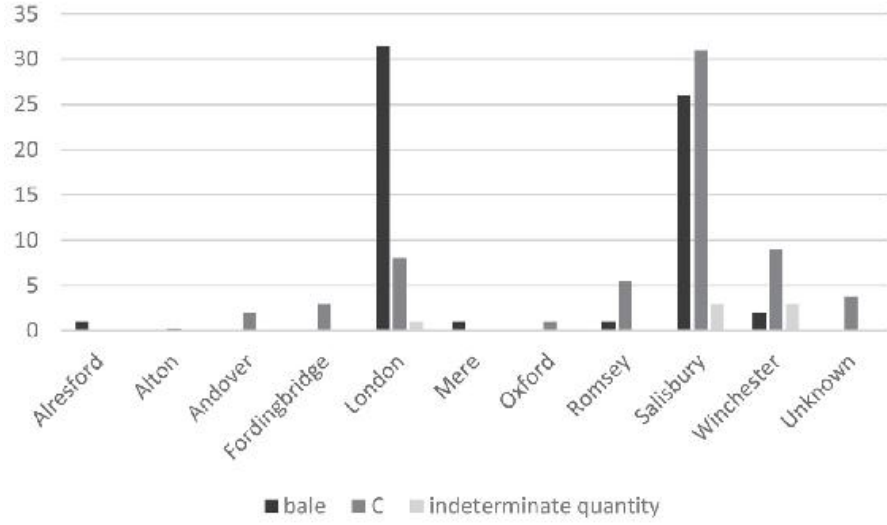


Figure 13.13: Distribution of wax from Southampton to destination towns (all years excluding 1430–1).

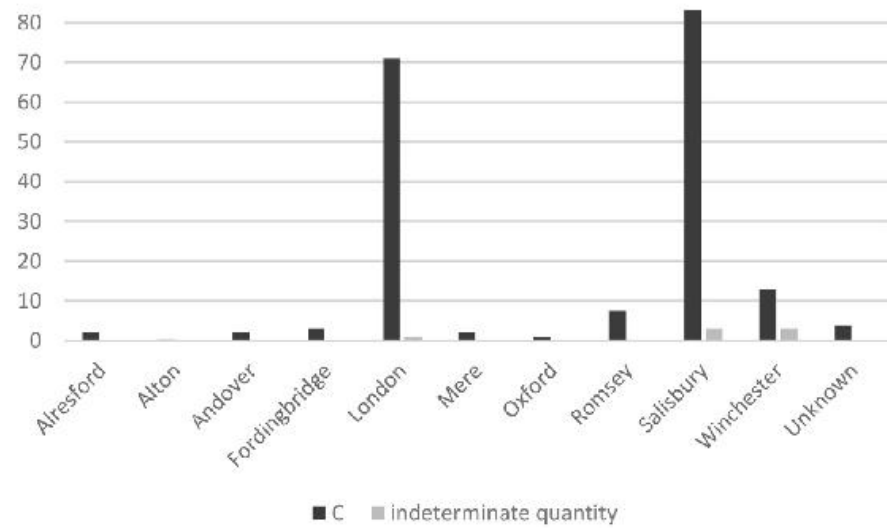


Figure 13.14: Distribution of wax from Southampton (all years excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 2C.

Most of the wax went to London (31.5 bales, 8C bales and one indeterminate quantity) and Salisbury (26 bales and 31C and three indeterminate quantities) and, to a lesser degree, to Winchester (2 bales, 9C and three indeterminate quantities) and Romsey (one bale and 6C). Demands for wax were almost certainly driven by the great religious institutions, such as the great cathedrals at Salisbury, and Winchester and the wealthy house of Benedictine nuns at Romsey. The total figures for wax distribution to London,

Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester are compared more closely (Figs 13.17–13.19). That Winchester, with nine large institutions, was dwarfed by Salisbury suggests that the latter was supplying numerous other institutions, such as the Dorset abbeys (Milton, Sherborne, Shaftesbury) and Somerset abbeys, such as Bruton.

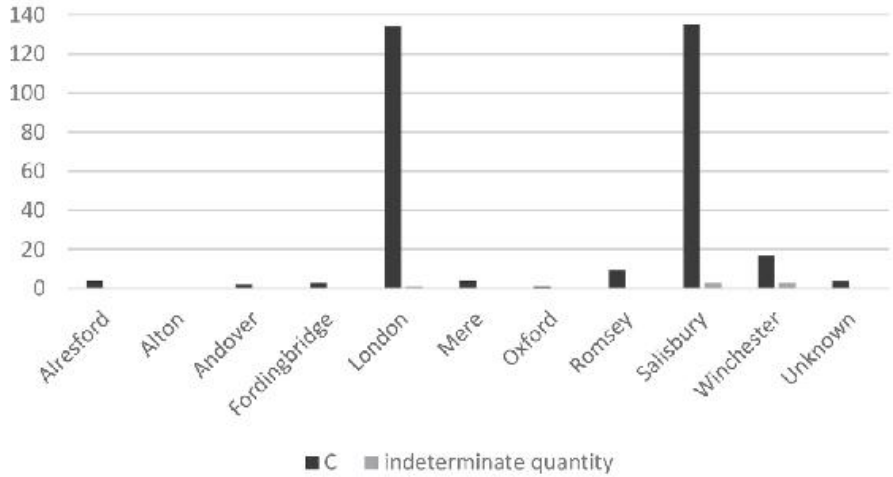


Figure 13.15: Distribution of wax from Southampton. Assumption: 1 bale equals 4C.

Town	County	Examples of people to whom wax was sent
Alresford	Hampshire	one consignment; 1439–40; Robert Gregory
Alton	Hampshire	one consignment; 1447–8; John Kyrton
Andover	Hampshire	one consignment of 2C; 1439–40; Thomas Sylfester merchant of Winchester
Fordingbridge	Hampshire	one consignment of 3C; 1439–40; Thomas Ede merchant of Bruton
London	Middlesex	15 consignments; all years; Italian merchants; patron of carrack; Christopher Ambrose
Mere	Wiltshire	one consignment; 1439–40
Oxford	Oxfordshire	one consignment of 1C; 1447–8; John Burton
Romsey	Hampshire	four consignments; 1439–40, 1461–2, 1462–3, 1492–3; 6C and one indeterminate quantity
Salisbury	Wiltshire	37 consignments; all years; Walter Felplace, William Bolet; Thomas Ede merchant of Bruton; John Estfeld; John Halle; John Apon; William Swayne
Winchester	Hampshire	11 consignments; not between 1492–94, prior of St Swithun's; John Kent chandler

Figure 13.16: Summary of destinations for wax.

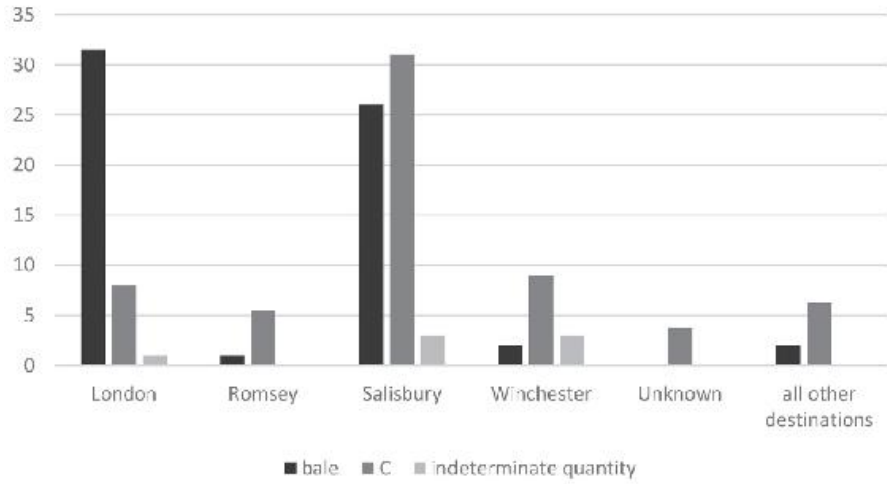


Figure 13.17: Distribution of wax from Southampton to London, Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester (excluding 1430–1).

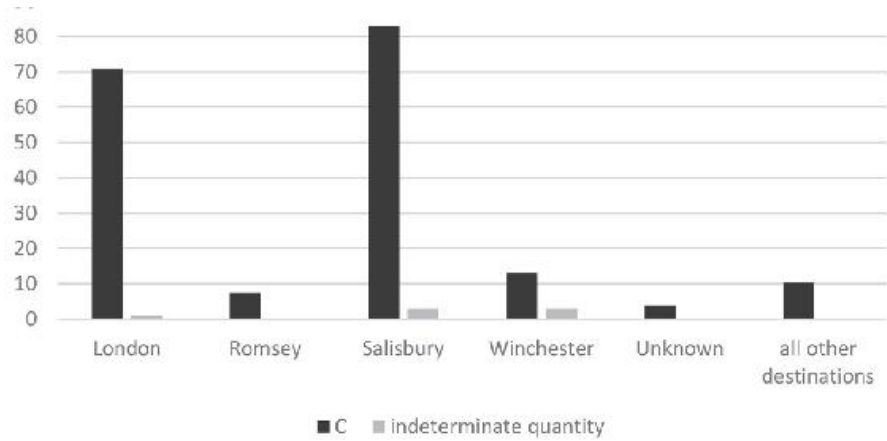


Figure 13.18: Distribution of wax from Southampton to London, Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester (excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 2C.

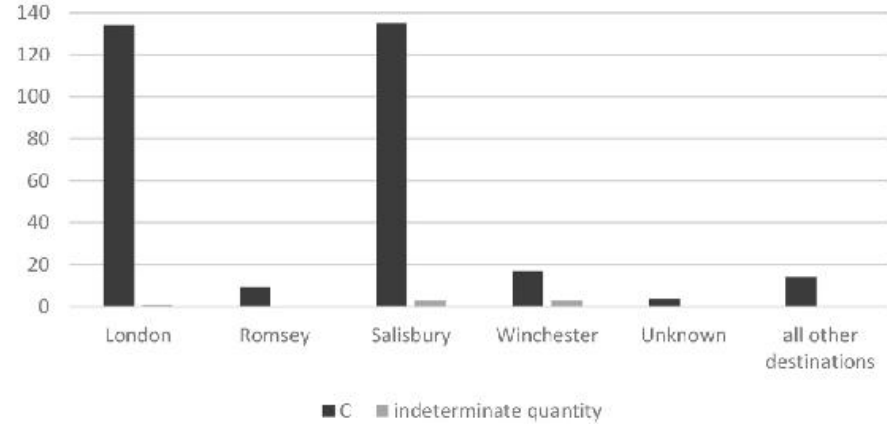


Figure 13.19: Distribution of wax from Southampton to London, Romsey, Salisbury and Winchester (excluding 1430–1). Assumption: 1 bale equals 4C.

Distribution – The People involved

London. Italians dominated the supply of wax to the capital and dealt exclusively with London, although quantities were not large. If the three indeterminate quantities are disregarded, and 2 bales are added to represent the 8C, then of the total 36.5 bales wax which went to London, 62% was taken there for the Italians. In 1439–40 the wax was delivered to the Genoans Gregorio Cattaneo and Andrea Spinola (3.114v1 and 3.112v3); in 1447–48 the wax was also for the Genoan, Edoardo Cattaneo (8.73r3); in 1461–2 and 1462–3 for the Venetian Paolo and for Agnolo, another member of the Cattaneo family (14.2r1 and 14.32v4). However, the wax trade was not exclusively in Italian hands. Ambrose, now trading out of Southampton (22.1r1), John Somerton (8.5r5), Harry Tollere (13.64v8) and Philip Balle (29.42v8), a freeman of London, were among non-Italians involved in supplying wax to the capital.

Salisbury. The Italians did not send wax to Salisbury, Winchester or indeed anywhere else. Wax for Salisbury was taken there for Richard Bele (8.27r4), William Boket (13.57v3) and two of Salisbury's 'notables' John Halle and William Swayne (13.88v6 and 13.47r10). In 1447–8 on 16 December, 4C wax was taken to Salisbury for William Swayne (8.18v9), perhaps in time for Christmas. A further 4C went there in January. More impressive were the four deliveries of wax that Swayne sent on Saturday 10 April 1462, amounting to 3 bales and 1C. Easter was particularly late that year, falling on Sunday 18 April: it is likely that this wax was for making the great paschal candles and tapers for the festival of Easter.

Among others sending wax to Salisbury was local man John Walker of Southampton, who sent two pieces of wax (23.13r2); John Parkere of London and Thomas Ede, merchant of Bruton in 1447–48 (8.44r7). Ede had sent 3C wax to Fordingbridge in 1439. In the same year Thomas Sylfester, a merchant

of Winchester, sent 2C wax to Andover, possibly destined for Wherwell Abbey.

Winchester. Winchester was the destination for some wax, though quantities were not large. In 1447–8, 4C was taken there for John Kent (8.47r9) and Richard Halle (8.28r3). Both were Winchester chandlers.[27] Kent and his wife were regular suppliers to Winchester College for many years. The college started buying wax from Kent in 1441–2 and continued to do so until he died in 1478, although Kent was not the sole supplier in the earlier years. Sometimes in these years the college also sourced wax from London, but between 1464–5 and 1472–3 Kent was the sole supplier. After that, although the college supported local suppliers, bulk purchases of wax came either from Salisbury or London, a decision driven by the price. When Richard Bartholomew of Salisbury supplied the college with wax in 1492–3, it cost 72s. 4d per C. The following year his price was 70s. per C, and in 1494–95 it had risen to 74s. per C. When the college looked elsewhere in 1495–6, the 2C bought in London cost 59s.and 58s. respectively, and therefore was considerably cheaper even when transport costs were added.[28] Similarly in 1477–8 one cwt of wax was sent to the prior of St Swithun's (Winchester Cathedral Priory) from Southampton. However, the records of St Swithun's Priory disclose that, like Winchester College, the priory sourced wax from the capital as well. In 1484–85 the curtarian paid two shillings for the carriage of one C of wax from London to Winchester. Although the large institutions supported local suppliers, they also made purchases from the capital when economic and convenient to do so.

Conclusion

Many of the luxury goods which arrived by sea in Southampton were taken directly to London. Not all were destined for the capital. Some certainly went to Salisbury, an important regional centre, although the quantities sent there were less than those consigned to London. Many luxuries were taken to the capital for the Italians who played little part in the regional trade, which was left mainly to local people, particularly prominent merchants from Bristol, Bruton, Salisbury and Southampton. There was certainly no Italian involvement in sending spices to Salisbury or indeed Winchester, although Ambrose, the Italian-born denizen of Southampton, sent currants to Bristol and Northampton, raisins to Cirencester, almonds to Coventry and sugar to Salisbury. Other Italians despatched spices solely to the capital.

Wax was another expensive luxury product and it was therefore hardly surprising that Italian and such prominent merchants of Salisbury as Swayne participated in its distribution. There was a limited range of destinations for wax. Significant quantities were brought into the country through Southampton, however after the high point in 1447–8 levels declined. After1493 there are no entries for wax in the brokage books. The pattern of

supply changed as Hanseatic merchants imported the much needed commodity through London. Religious institutions close to Southampton turned to the capital to source their supplies.

Notes

1 Coleman, 1443–4, xxx.
2 Brasil and grain, see Coleman 1443–4, 329; for orchil, see *Bristol's Trade with Ireland and the Continent, 1503–1601*, ed. S. Flavin and E. T. Jones, Bristol Record Society 61 (2009), 955.
3 Yates, *Western Berkshire*, 114.
4 Ruddock, 75.
5 *Ibid*.
6 *Illustrated Letters of the Paston Family – Private Life in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R. Virgoe (1989), 209.
7 Ruddock, 72.
8 *Compotus Rolls of the Obedientaries of St Swithun's Priory*, ed. G. W. Kitchin, Hampshire Record Society 7 (1892), 280 note 1.
9 C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), 62.
10 *Ibid*.
11 Harwood, Iron and Wax, 22–3.
12 There is only one 16th-century entry for an aromatic spice, ginger.
13 Disregarding indeterminate quantities.
14 M. Threlfall-Holmes, 'The Consumption of Durham Cathedral Priory', *Revolution and Consumption in Later Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2001), 154–55.
15 Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 62–3.
16 Lee, *Cambridge Region*, 137–38.
17 *Ibid*. 138.
18 S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (London, 1968), 372.
19 Currants from Corinth were referred to as 'raisins of Corinth' in the brokage books, see Ruddock, 73.
20 Virgoe, *Illustrated Letters*, 72.
21 Ruddock, 75.
22 Harwood, thesis, 229; WCM 22207, 1549–50, necessary expenses.
23 The charts included in this chapter show figures for bales, 'C' and a number of indeterminate quantities which were grouped together and counted. The underlying figures are representative and cannot be exact. Most charts omit the less reliable figures for 1430–1.
24 In 1474–75 Winchester College purchased wax from Whitchurch in Hampshire.
25 Platt, *Southampton*, 157.
26 Book 13.41r2 equates a bale of wax to 3C; however, generally it was when a quantity was unusual that the broker specified the actual weight, so more likely that it was usually either 2C or 4C.
27 Keene, *Survey*, ii.1252.
28 In three consecutive years, 2C of wax was bought; in 1498–9, it cost 2s. 4d. to transport; in 1499–1500, 2s. 6d.; and, in 1500–01, 2s. 8d. Yet despite these transport costs, it appears to have been more economic to purchase supplies of wax from the capital.

CHAPTER 14

COMMODITIES: FISH[1]

John Hare

The Fish Trade

Fish provided an important part of the medieval diet and the fishing industry was an important and growing part of the economy. The paucity of sources means that it has been overly neglected.[2] Fish was one of the major items of inland trade through Southampton. Of the carts in the database, 25% carried fish. Compared with many other goods, fish were carried over a rather restricted area (Maps 13–15). It was both a bulky and relatively low value product. Moreover, most fish could be landed at any port along the coast, unlike the specialist Mediterranean products.

The trade covered a wide range of fish types. Since some were measured by numbers of fish and others by the barrel, the rather crude method of counting the number of carts carrying particular types of fish provides an indicator for comparison. Herring was the largest single type, making up over half the fish carts on the database, whether described as herring or one of its variants full, red, shot, white or dry. Other fish included were cod, hake, mulwell, ling, pollock, whiting and mackerel, broad fish, garfish and gurnard, and the more specialist types of salmon, sturgeon, pilchards, tuna and oysters. Later enlarged fishing horizons are indicated by the recording of Newfoundland fish.[3] Apart from the large amount simply described as fish (21.4%), only herring were imported on a large scale. Oysters (12.0%) constituted the next largest group and then hake (7.0%). Most fish types were imported only occasionally (Fig. 14.1) Attention focuses particularly on herring, both because this was the most widely distributed fish in the internal trade, and because its measurement was usually standardised in barrels, thus allowing more accurate comparison between one place and another, and between one year and the next.[4]

Southampton and its hinterland were supplied with fish from a variety of sources. The south-western fisheries, from Cornwall to Dorset, were particularly important and supplied over half of the consignments into the

town in 1426–7 and 1435–6.[5] But south-western supplies were not exclusive. Fish were brought from Ireland, in the ships of the south west. Shipmasters from further east, and from the rich fishing grounds of the North Sea, brought fish into the port. The port books emphasise this long distance coastal import. Those from 1426–30 and 1439–40 show fish being brought from the south-west (Penzance, Ottermouth, Yealm, Llandulph, St Ives and Cornwall and Devon in general), from the southeast (Chichester, Winchelsea, Shoreham, and Ash in Kent); from nearer at hand in Dorset and the Isle of Wight; from East Anglia (Lowestoft, Orwell, Walberswick, Southwold, Coverhithe and Cromer, with Suffolk and Norfolk in general); from Newcastle, Bristol and the Channel Islands; from Flanders, Étaples and Dieppe, and from Barfleur and Brittany in France.[6]

Type of fish	No. of carts containing fish	% of fish trade
Herring	2325	51.3
Unspecified types of fish	971	21.4
Oysters	542.5	12.0
Hake	319	7.0
Salmon	115	2.5
Sprats	102	2.25
Eels	48	1
Stockfish-cod	28	0.6
Mulwell	21	0.6
Newfoundland	20	0.4
Ling	11	
Others: lampreys (9), mackerel (4), Pollock (3), sturgeon (3), pilchards (2), tuna (2), haddock (2), sardines (1), whiting (1), gurnard (1), garfish (1)	28	

Figure 14.1: The main types of fish.

Developments in curing had enabled herring to be kept for much longer and thus to be consumed on a much larger and wider scale. Herring fishing had become part of a larger scale industry around the coast of South and East England and beyond. From the early fourteenth century, the fish were increasingly caught and gutted at sea or close by on land. They were placed in barrels where the salt and brine stopped decay, and then were repackaged in fresh salt and water. The combination of this curing process and the storage of the fish in watertight barrels allowed the fish to be kept for a substantial time, over a year.[7]

The Patterns of Trade

Fish, in medieval England, could be traded over a considerable distance. In far off Exeter, merchants of Salisbury, Malmesbury and Warminster were to be found trading in fish, although it is not clear how these would be moved.[8] Leland, writing in 1540s, remarked that ‘Salisbury market is well supplied with meat, but far better with fish. In fact most of the main varieties of fish caught between the Tamar and Southampton are sent to Salisbury’.[9] The fish

required by Battle Abbey near the coast at Hastings in Sussex, came principally from such neighbouring ports as Hastings, Rye and Winchelsea, but despite the abbey's proximity to the sea, some fish (mainly herring, stockfish, salmon, sturgeon and salt fish), was brought from London by road.[10] It nevertheless made sense to keep the overland journey as short as possible. Because fish was a bulk product, relatively low in intrinsic value, with many points of access, the tradewas restricted to a much smaller hinterland than such products as wine and woad (Maps 13–15, 4–5, 20–1). Southampton's overland fish trade was overwhelmingly dominated by Hampshire and Wiltshire, and by the two great cities of Winchester and Salisbury respectively (Fig. 14.2). Wiltshire received 47.3% of the herrings from Southampton, of which the vast majority (95%) went to Salisbury for further distribution. Hampshire received slightly less (38.7%), but the role of Winchester was very different, being responsible for about only half (51.4%) of the county's Southampton fish. In Hampshire, fish were distributed more widely and especially to a group of lesser towns such as Andover, Romsey, Basingstoke and Alresford (Fig. 14.3). Beyond these two counties there were some smaller but still significant marketing centres, such as Newbury and Hungerford, which represented only a small part of the total (Fig. 14.3). Few herring went directly as far as the north of Wiltshire, with the exception of Marlborough on its north-eastern landlocked corner. Malmesbury received nothing. It is not clear whether it acquired its fish from Salisbury, or more probably, the more easily accessible port of Bristol. Meanwhile in Hampshire, little herring went to the south of the county, where it could more easily be supplied from other south coast ports. Even the important cloth-producing town and centre of Alton took few fish from Southampton, probably using ports like Portsmouth and Chichester. The same also probably accounts for the lack of fish sent to Farnham and Guildford in Surrey. Mention of other ports emphasises the need to avoid seeing the well-documented Southampton overland trade in isolation. Salisbury might be a dominant element in the Southampton fish trade, but Salisbury was little further away from Poole in Dorset, another port with which it had close associations. Nevertheless, the concentrated nature of the trade is highlighted by the general figures. Wiltshire and Hampshire were responsible for 86% of the herring that left Southampton and this figure rises to 90.1% if we include the landlocked counties of Berkshire and Oxfordshire. It is also shown clearly in the restricted band of destinations north of Southampton and the Solent (Maps 13–15).

	Barrels	% age of total
Salisbury	3976.75	44.2
Wiltshire (excluding Salisbury)	217.5	2.4
Winchester	1762.75	19.6
Hampshire (excluding Winchester)	1669.75	18.7
Total	9005.75	84.8

Figure 14.2: The herring trade: Salisbury's hinterlands 1430–1540.

	Barrels	Taxpayers 1524–5	Barrels per taxpayer
Salisbury	3977	799	5.0
Winchester	1763	596	3.0
Andover	568	152	3.7
Romsey	433	210	2.1
Basingstoke	247	274	0.9
Newbury	226	414	0.5
Marlborough	92	237	0.4
Hungerford	70	114	0.6
Alresford	64	82	0.8
Fordingbridge	55		
Ringwood	41	100	0.4
Wilton	36		
Alton	30	260	0.1

Source: J.Sheail, *The Regional Distribution of Wealth in England* (1988), 370–88, 117–137.

Figure 14.3: The herring trade: major centres.

Some towns may have imported fish in order to cater for their own townsmen and the villages immediately around, but others imported fish for a much wider area. This is reflected in the figures of barrels of herring per taxpayer, which is more likely to provide an indicator of trade beyond the town than of consumption by the townspeople. This comparison shows some interesting features (Fig. 14.3), such as the dominance of Salisbury as a fish market, or more surprisingly the greater importance in marketing of the smaller Andover over its larger neighbour Winchester.

Chronological Trends

The database, however, covers a long enough period to reveal chronological change, both at a total level and in that of individual towns (see Figs 14.4–5). It is difficult to establish a clear baseline for the early part of the period. The figures for 1431 represent an under-calculation and those for 1447–8 are exceptionally, and at present unaccountably, high, as is the total measured in fish carts for 1447–8. The table indicates an average herring trade through Southampton between 1431 and 1462 of 924 barrels (or 693 as an ultra-cautious figure by excluding the exceptionally high year of 1447–8). By contrast the last quarter of the century (1478, 1492, 1493) averaged 335 barrels only, less than half of the earlier average ultra-cautious figure. Recovery took place in the early sixteenth century (997 barrels), almost three times that of the previous decades. Despite the difficulties, the patterns seem clear: prosperity, fall and regrowth.

Why were there such dramatic changes in the scale of the herring trade? It seems unlikely that they resulted from a change in demand or that the town's hinterland had moved away from the consumption of fish. More probable are

changes in the port that was used. This was a time of great recession, exacerbated for Southampton by the loss of the Italian trade. The falling cloth exports from the port and its subsequent revival and growth in the early sixteenth century could have affected fish imports. At times of booming cloth exports, fish merchants may have been encouraged to bring their catches into Southampton confident that such trade would keep up prices and thus make it more profitable to use than other ports. At other times, as in the later fifteenth century, fish may have been increasingly been brought into other ports. Poole could be used for the Salisbury market, and other smaller ports could be used for parts of east and west Hampshire.11

There were also individual cases of changing use. While in many cases the pattern of fish marketing remained constant, in some places it changed in the course of the period covered by the brokage books. In the early sixteenth century, the growth of the Thames valley cloth industry led to Southampton's herring trade to Basingstoke and Newbury reaching unprecedented heights. By contrast, that of Romsey, like other towns fell from the 1460s, but showed no significant recovery in the sixteenth century.

	1431	1440	1448	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1494	1528	1539	1540
Salisbury	360	461	999	361	419	209	57	131	144	325	281	232
Wiltshire	6	21	95	0	0	5	17	6	6	21	15	301
Winchester	81	91	283	90	54	112	106	53	18	213	364	299
Hampshire	119	129	280	198	110	84	101	71	22	156	301	152
Total	679	751	1847	718	624	458	309	387	213	915	1310	865

Figure 14.4: Annual herring trade (barrels).

	1431	1440	1448	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1494	1528	1539	1540
Salisbury	53.0	61.4	54.1	50.2	67.1	45.6	18.4	45.5	67.6	35.5	23.2	26.8
Wiltshire	0.9	2.7	5.1	0.0	0.0	1.0	5.5	2.8	2.2	1.2	3.4	2.5
Winchester	11.9	12.1	15.3	13.5	8.6	24.5	35.1	18.5	8.5	23.3	30.1	31.5
Hampshire	17.6	17.1	12.5	27.5	17.5	18.3	32.5	24.6	10.3	17.0	24.9	17.5

Figure 14.5: Annual herring trade (percentages).

The Fish Merchants

There were a number of different types of merchant engaged in the Southampton fish trade: Southampton merchants and those from elsewhere, merchants who focussed on fish, and those for whom it was part of a wider portfolio of trading activities. In many cases merchants used fish among other goods to convey the receipts of cloth sales in Southampton to the Salisbury market. Throughout the period there were always a few Southampton merchants heavily engaged in the fish trade. John Daubney and Richard Bele were the dominant figures at the beginning of the period. Daubney traded from 1440 to 1462, making 51 journeys with herring from Southampton. His activities were dominated by the Salisbury trade: only two consignments being taken outside Salisbury. Although he dealt in other goods (tar, garlic,

fruit, salmon, hake and other fish), his activity was concentrated on the herring trade. Bele was most active from 1430–49. During the three years on the database, he was responsible for 115 journeys of herring. He continued on a much smaller scale until 1462–3.[12] Like Daubney, he concentrated on the Salisbury market which saw virtually all his activity. There were occasional trips elsewhere: Romsey was a secondary point of activity. His trade was also dominated by herring, although including lesser activities with other fish, soap, fruit, raisins, salt and wax.

Southampton traders remained important in the sixteenth century, as in the Salisbury trade, although many of the important players seem to have come from migrants from the inland towns. The Bekyngham family probably came from Salisbury, but by the sixteenth century Thomas was a Southampton burgess. William (1527–8) and Thomas and John (1538–40) all traded extensively in fish. William's trade of 24 journeys was almost exclusively fish, but with isolated tar, pitch, pots and jugs. All his trade was with Salisbury. John Bekyngham, described as of Salisbury (38.63r8), traded predominantly in fish and to a lesser extent in woad, iron, wine and corn (which he brought in to Southampton). Virtually all his trade was to Salisbury itself. Altogether he was involved in 59 outward journeys and 13 inward ones. Thomas Bekyngham seems to have had broadened out his activities rather more. His predominant destination was Salisbury, with secondary activity in Winchester and occasional use of Basingstoke, Alresford, Andover, Newbury and Romsey. His main goods were fish together with wine, iron and woad, as well as such items as dyestuffs, sugar and vinegar, fruit, raisins and figs. He also brought in cloth and grain. He made 124 journeys in the two years, of which 16 were brought inwards. William Jorden made 49 journeys in 1538–40, all bar one of which was to Salisbury and almost all of which were for fish.[13] By contrast, William Grete, who dealt extensively with fish, made 22 journeys in these years almost exclusively for fish, and especially herring. He ignored Salisbury and dealt exclusively with Basingstoke, his family home, and to a lesser extent with Winchester and Newbury.[14] Another who looked to the north-east was Robert Devenes in 1527–8. He sent 14 consignments of fish to Newbury. He also traded in wine with 7 consignments, of which four were to Newbury, 2 were to Marlborough in the same area, and a single entry to Salisbury. By 1538–9 the fish trade was dominated by Southampton merchants and those described as Southampton burgesses.

Earlier, much of the Salisbury fish trade was in the hands of Salisbury merchants. Some specialised in importing fish into the city like, John Mason (Macyn) in the 1440s. In 1448 his trading activities in the brokage books were almost exclusively of fish, with 23 entries and 105 barrels of herring. The following year, his trade was on a much smaller scale with a mixture of wine, fish and a single load of oil.[15] In addition some of the rich trading elite like Henry Baron imported fish as part of a much wider portfolio of activities. Baron's case reveals an interesting changing concentration on fish. He traded

in 1430–1 and 1439–40. In 1431 he had concentrated on both fish and wine, with 28 entries concerning herring and 41 of wine, as well as dealing more occasionally in garlic, onions, figs, raisins, salt, woad, oil, fruit and a wide range of other fish. In 1440 his trade range had narrowed and was on a smaller scale, and was almost exclusively herring with occasional other fish, together with isolated examples of garlic, raisins and bowstaves. His activities had ceased by 1443–4.[16] Almost all his specified transactions were to Salisbury. John Halle was probably one of the richest men in the city and traded extensively both to Southampton and beyond. Herring comprised a significant number of his transactions, particularly in 1448, when they made up 22 journeys. He traded extensively in herring, although subsequently this part of his activities declined substantially. Richard Cherite was another rich merchant who amidst a wide range of imports included substantial quantities of herring. Just as some of the great Salisbury elite engaged in the fish trade as part of their trading activities, so too did some of the traders beyond Salisbury: they bought fish and or other goods in Southampton and then sold it in the markets of Salisbury.

This mixture of Southampton merchants, locals who concentrated on fish and those who did not, and traders from outside can also be found at Winchester. There were the Southampton merchants like John Sabyne and William Grete, Winchester merchants like William Robarde, William Gobull, Cornelius of Winchester, William Chaundler and John Wythwell. Winchester institutions like the cathedral priory also bought fish in Southampton and took it back to Winchester. Finally there were those from other places who occasionally brought fish to the city, such as William Chapman of Overton (32.42v7).

Occasionally fish traders from outside Southampton took the fish to sell in inland markets rather than simply sell them in the port. Most of these went to the great market of Salisbury and to a lesser extent to London (for specialist tuna, sardines, and conger brought by merchants from Genoa and Spain) (14.24v3, 14.41r4, 8.58v4, 29.31v1, 29.47r4). Despite these southern fish, most of the entries were of the more prosaic herring sold by traders from Dunkirk (3.59 v1), Folkestone (8.42v1), Dover (8.49r7), Winchelsea (8.43v1), Suffolk (Yarmouth, Southwold, unspecified locations (8.46v11, 30.18v4, 30.25v2,)[17] and Waterford (14.36r7), and sent to Salisbury (predominantly), Andover and Winchester.[18]

Notes

1 Comments based on the database can be referenced from the database itself and the date concerned. Only references to a specificindividual entry are separately cited.

2 But for an important recent study see M. Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', *EcHR* 2nd ser. 53 (2000), 429–54. See also *England's Sea Fisheries. The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300*, eds D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (London, 2000).

3 There are seven references in 1527–8.
4 In some cases more than a single type of measurement was used for a single load (as 8.17v5). This chapter uses the conversions made in the database.
5 Kowaleski,' Expansion of the Fisheries', 433.
6 Studer, *Port Books, 1428–30*, 123–5; Cobb, *Port Book, 1439–40*, 26, 32,35, 39, 44, 46; 10; 2, 2, 23, 25, 26; 29. See also C. M. Woolgar, '"Take this penance now and afterwards the fare will improve". Sea Food and Late Medieval Diet', in Starkey, *England's Sea Fisheries*, 40.
7 R. W. Unger, The Netherlands Herring Industry in the Late Middle Ages: The False Legend of William Beukels of Biervliet', *Viator* 9 (1978), 336–7; Kowaleski, 'South Western Fisheries'.
8 M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995), 318.
9 Leland, *Itinerary*, 492.
10 *Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey, 1275–1513*, ed. E. Searle and B. Ross (Sydney, 1967), *passim*.
11 Unfortunately the customs accounts miss out on the English fish brought into the port (TNA/E122/120/3).
12 Database; Coleman, *1443–4*, passim; Lewis, passim.
13 He also traded in a much smaller scale in tar, vinegar, hops, glass, wine, prunes and salt.
14 He is described as a burgess (usually implying a Southampton citizen, and as of Basingstoke).
15 Lewis, 111, 135, 38, 44, 46, 53, 56, 63.
16 Coleman, *1443–4*.
17 Lewis, 144, 47–8, 152.
18 It should be noted that there is an obscure Waterford in Hampshire and an ambiguity with Yarmouth between East Anglia and the Isle of Wight.

CHAPTER 15

COMMODITIES: THE CLOTH INDUSTRY[1]

John Hare

Introduction

Southampton owed much of its importance to its position at the juncture of cloth exports and imported goods for industry. It was a major cloth exporter and for part of the time of this study, the second most important cloth exporting port in England. These exports paid for wine and spices and other things that had nothing to do with cloth. But they also needed to pay for imported goods that were required in the manufacturing of cloth, such as dyestuffs and fixers, oil and soap. Southampton and the cloth industry were part of an international web of production and marketing (Map 18). The patterns of trade were not constant as merchants and traders responded to changing conditions of recession, the vagaries of Anglo-French relations, and the decline of the Genoese trade in the 1460s (Map 19).

Incoming English Cloth

The brokage books record some of the cloth that was brought into the town prior to its export, but sadly they provide only a partial record. It is not clear precisely why some inward cloth was recorded and some was not. Cloth coming in by packhorse was apparently excluded, but this was not always the case. Moreover, the brokage books rarely record how much was carried in each consignment, instead referring to packs of cloth, or just of cloth, with no quantities given.[2]

Certain features stand out from Figures 15.1 and 15.2. Most recorded cloth came from London. Some from the Wessex cloth area, was sent to London sold at Blackwell Hall, collected and eventually sent to Southampton for the Italian ships. Given the large quantities that the Italians might export, it made sense for some to be collected in London at the biggest cloth mart in the country. Salisbury was the second largest source, but the relatively few examples recorded represent a tiny part of its trade as recorded by other

transactions. Other places recorded reflect the main cloth areas but they provide a woefully inadequate representation of the trade. The figures show years of high numbers of carts, although their importance of these years seems to bear little relation to the scale of exports in that year (Fig. 15.1). 1478 for example was a year of low exports, but relatively high recording of imports from inland towns. Perhaps we are seeing the idiosyncratic recording practices of particular brokage clerks. Goods being brought in by horse escaped pontage and brokage. What is unclear is why some incoming transactions were recorded and others not. The inward transactions from other towns are also erratic, but they do show us something of the activities of the cloth producing towns known from other sources, mainly in Wiltshire, Hampshire, Berkshire and East Somerset (Map 17).

Date	London	Salisbury	Others	Denizen exports	Alien exports	Total exports
1430–1	5			2242	4334	6576
1439–40	102	3	16	*789	*11309	*12098
1447–8	181.5	27	45	3817	10955	14772
1461–2	48	4	22	*1621	*2224	*3845
1462–3	18	1	8	*405	*2188	*2593
1477–8	93.5	1	34	*694	*852	*1546
1491–2	67.5	1	9	824	855	1679
1492–3	8	1	3	1091	3681	4775
1527–8	23	2	35	1088	4392	5480
1538–9	9	4	3	711	2568	3279
1539–40	2	1	8	1140	1151	2291

* Converted to Michaelmas – Michaelmas

Source: E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade 1275–1547* (Oxford 1963).

Figure 15.1: Cloth recorded as imported to Southampton by land (Michaelmas to Michaelmas) compared with exports from Southampton, by sea.

1448	Newbury (6), Romsey (2), Wilton (3), Winchester (3), Burford (1), Shirley (1), Henley (1), Alton (2), Windsor (2), Poole (1), Frome (3), Leominster (1), Devizes (1), Oxford (2), Gloucester (7), Staines (1), Barnstaple (1), Shrewsbury (2), Reading (1), Andover (1), Coventry (1),
1478	Bath (1), Devizes (7), Newbury (9),Warminster (2), Bristol (3),Exeter (2), Stanlake (1), Coventry (6), Barnstaple,(1), Whitchurch (1)
1528	Alton (2), Basingstoke (5), Alresford (1), Marlborough (1), Kendal (1), Taunton (2), Winchester (1), Odiham (2), Farnham (1), Romsey (1), Newbury (14)
Others	Leicester, Shaftesbury, Ringwood, Abingdon, Trowbridge, Malmesbury, Bradford, Stowford, Northampton, Wimborne Minster, Alresford, Westwood

Figure 15.2: Places of origin of cloth to Southampton (excluding London and Salisbury).

Most cloths recorded are given no specific description as to the type of cloth. In some cases the type of cloth is mentioned and these suggest specific geographical locations. Thus kerseys, a smaller and lighter cloth, when recorded in the brokage books, mainly come from Berkshire and from north and east Hampshire. Most kerseys were from Newbury, but they also came

also from Basingstoke, Whitchurch, Alton, Odiham, Winchester; Reading, Oxford and Guildford, as well as from Wimborne and Romsey further west. Bastards, large undyed broad cloth, came particularly from Devizes, but also from the area around, from Bath, Warminster, Westwood and Stowford. Straits came from Somerset and into Devon, from Barnstaple, Colyton, Honiton and Exeter, although from the south coast additional cloths might have been brought by sea. These incoming transactions also record the activities of men who are already known for their substantial cloth making and trading activities from other sources, men such as John Horton of Westwood, Richard Wyche of Trowbridge, or William Stowford of Bradford.[3]

Imports of Raw Material

Dyes and Mordants

Woad (Maps 20–21). Woad was the most frequently used dyestuffs in the late medieval cloth industry, used as a base for blue, as well as green, violet and black cloth. Earlier much of that used in England came from Picardy, but by the fifteenth century the main sources seem to have been the Mediterranean, especially from Tuscany and Piedmont, whence it was brought by Italian ships, particularly the Genoese, and from the Toulouse area and south west France where it came in English, Gascon and Spanish ships. Given these sources Southampton was a natural port for such imports, as was Bristol for the woad from south-west France.[4] From Southampton, the woad was dispatched inland. It was of high value. While most was consumed fairly locally, it could also be traded at a considerable distance. Its geographical spread can be seen in Figure 15.3 and Map 20. There were three main destinations, each taking over 20% of the woad: London, from where it was distributed nationally, and the nearby counties of Hampshire and Wiltshire. The rest of the West Country clothing area also received woad, although on a much smaller scale. Here the figures represent an underestimate, both because woad came also through Bristol, and because Salisbury's extensive market hinterland stretched beyond the borders of Wiltshire. Further north, Southampton fed the industries of Berkshire and the area around, particularly of Newbury, and the towns of the midlands and above all of Coventry. The latter were both at a considerable distance and also nearer to the other great woad port of Bristol. Altogether woad was sent to 95 different places. Of the single towns outside London, Salisbury and Winchester each dominated their respective counties, but the difference between the two was considerable. Hampshire's woad was comparatively evenly spread with about just over half (59%) going to Winchester and the rest going to other towns such as Alton, Romsey and Basingstoke. By contrast virtually all of Wiltshire's woad (91%) went through Salisbury, which alone was responsible for almost a fifth

(18.6%) of the woad sent through Southampton.

For some purposes carts are the only possible measure of quantity for comparison. In this chapter contemporary measures are also available: balettes, for woad, bales for madder and alum. But Figure 15.3 gives the opportunity to compare the two methods. There are clearly differences, but these may result from more efficient usage of carts on the long distance traffic (thus the adjacent counties of Hampshire and Wiltshire seem to carry less per cart) or from a wider range of goods being carried (and thus less woad in any single cart). But in general they reinforce the sense that while the figures may be crude and provide a rather fuzzy picture, they nevertheless can generate valid statistics for the overland trade.

The woad trade needs to be examined not as a static image, but as a dynamic and changing pattern. This can be done using the database and supplementing it with Coleman's earlier calculations.[5] Examining the total amount sent through Southampton and ignoring the problematic accounts for 1431 and the incomplete one for 1494, some obvious trends emerge (Fig. 15.4). Allowance needs to be made for erratic annual figures, the difficulties for English merchants following England's loss of Gascony, and the changing role of the Genoese and their supplies.[6] Three phases are obvious. Quantities were at their highest in 1439–71. Imports dropped in 1477–8 and a further drop lay ahead. Although imports were low in 1478, they were still substantial and this remained so a few years later in 1483, when one carrack alone brought in 997 bales.[7] But the three years from 1488–93 produced figures of 36, 409 and 149 balettes:[8] they had become almost negligible. Imports dropped still further in 1528. The dramatic recovery of the later 1530s took them nowhere near the figures of the 1440s and 1460s. Moreover it should be emphasised that the scale of the drop, with negligible imports *c*.1490, is too dramatic to be explained by any shifting fortunes of the cloth industry. Much of Southampton's woad had been brought in the Genoese ships and their departure after 1460s would have hit this trade, which was also disrupted by the loss of Gascony and Guyenne, outlets for the woad of Languedoc. When the Gascon trade recovered, it was probably to Bristol rather than Southampton that the dyestuffs came. Bristol merchants could enthuse about the importance of woad in their trading activities.[9] It seems unlikely that this occurred in Southampton after the mid fifteenth century.

	Balettes	% of total	Carts	% of total
London (and Middlesex)	8,304	35.8	903	27.8
Wiltshire	4,721	20.4	854	26.3
Hampshire	3,638	15.8	669	20.7
Berkshire	1,914	8.3	202	6.2
Warwickshire	1,299	5.6	190	5.9
Somerset	838	3.6	100	3.1
Gloucestershire	432	1.9	59	1.8
Dorset	336	1.4	42	1.3
Northamptonshire	181	0.8	23	0.7
Derbyshire	174	0.8	28	0.9
Surrey	141	0.6	27	0.8
Oxfordshire	135	0.6	20	0.6
Total all places (including unspecified)	23,146	95.5	3,238	96.1

Figure 15.3: Woad geographical spread.

	Total	1431	1440	1448	1462	1463	1478	1492	1493	1494	1528	1539	1540
London	8304	1475	1814	800	1911	1898	385	0	13		8		
Salisbury	4306	549	974	838	925	566	126	104	66	39	2.5	24	92.5
Winchester	2156.5	288	666	306	199	234	166.5	142	63	18	1	15	58
Newbury	1774	7	9	12	9	29	41		3		16	988	660
Coventry	1295	133	373	210	163	235	181						
Romsey	784	123	243	153	81	96	29	32			19	8	
Total	18,619.5	2575	4079	2319	3288	3058	928.5	278	145	57	46.5	1035	810.5
Total all places	22,982	2,813	4,459	2,868	4,387	4,010	1,204	394	169	154	80	1,263	1,092

Figure 15.4: Annual totals of deliveries of woad to 6 principal destinations (in balettes).

These annual fluctuations can be seen on the scale of Southampton totals, but they also need to be analysed according to the various destinations. Six towns stand out clearly as the major destinations (Fig. 15.4). London showed a dramatic fall in 1477–8. Thereafter very little woad was sent there from Southampton. Salisbury also saw a dramatic fall in 1477–8, although for a time this reflected the drop in total imports. In the 1440s Salisbury had been the dominant destination after London, in the 1460s and 1470s it dropped well behind the capital, and in both real and percentage terms it fell further in the sixteenth century. Winchester had seen a significant fall in 1440s, but then remained remarkably static with a high figure in 1478, followed by a fall in the 1490s and again in the sixteenth century. Coventry's figures had been high in the 1440s. Coventry remained a major importer until 1477–8, but thereafter disappeared. Was this a product of urban decline or of a shift to Bristol? Newbury was not a great importer of woad, until the figures were transformed in the 1530s when it briefly became the main market for Southampton woad. Finally Romsey also showed a brief phase of importance in 1440s, dropping in the 1460s, and almost non-existent in the sixteenth century.

These six towns dominated Southampton's woad trade. After the 145 carts of Romsey, the next largest amount went to Alton with only 40 carts. But these smaller towns also need to be considered. Here those towns with over ten carts will be examined. What is noticeable is the shift between 1440s and the 1460s. While the top six towns declined in their percentage of the total; the second tier almost doubled their percentage from the early 1440s (Fig. 15.5). What seems to have happened is that some of the great towns, above all Salisbury, were partially losing their control over the woad market. Merchants of the lesser towns, particularly the cloth-making ones, were increasingly prepared to trade direct to Southampton rather than through Salisbury. The towns of Bradford, Bruton, Langport, Leigh on Mendip and Shepton Mallet in West Wiltshire and East Somerset only infrequently imported woad in the 1440s none in 1447–8, yet in the two years 1461–3 they imported 623 balettes compared with 1491 balettes for Salisbury itself. The growing role in the woad trade of such towns is also reinforced by other records.

The nature of the trade and its traders varied from time to time and from place to place. It was subject to domination by the rich and powerful but not exclusively so. In 1447–8, the two major recipients, London and Salisbury showed very contrasting patterns. In London the trade was dominated by the Genoese merchants who had brought so much of the woad to Southampton. Of the 800 balettes, only 72 were in the hands of the Londoners, the rest being under the control of the Genoese. The balance may have been exceptional in that year, but it reflected wider patterns.[12] The 838 balettes that went to Salisbury showed a very different pattern. Only one Italian was involved and he was the naturalised Gabriel Corbet who only sent 5 balettes. Of the rest, 52% were owned by non-Salisbury merchants from 14 different towns who took the woad to Salisbury rather than to their own towns. With the exception of London, they haled mainly from the cloth towns of the south-west and Somerset. The main centres were London (128 balettes), Exeter (60), Bruton (57), Langport (47), Glastonbury (38), Bristol (23) and Mere (20). Some of the others are specified as of Salisbury, but most can be recognised by name as citizens of the city, and some operated on a large scale, such as William Swayne (59), Thomas Pakker (51) and John Dounton (28). Swayne had been an even more dominant figure in 1443–4, when he was responsible for a quarter of the woad imported into the city. By the 1530s a new pattern had developed centred on Newbury. In part this may have reflected the importance of the industry in this town. Of the two years in the database (1538–40), Newbury was responsible for 70% of the woad leaving Southampton, a growth that seems to have been the product of collaboration between Southampton merchants and the great clothier John Winchcombe of Newbury. Almost all the woad belonged to two Southampton merchants Master Ronanger and Master Bore, and to Master Wynskom (Winchcombe), with two isolated additional journeys the responsibility of Mill and of Carewe of Southampton. Winchcombe had been using the port to import woad from at

least 1537. In 1538 Southampton made a deal with him to pay duty on woad at half price as long as he continued to export kerseys through the town.[13] Although the figures refer only to the two years 1538–40, the town's transformation in the woad market had already occurred by 1534–5.[14] While Newbury had greatly increased its role in this lucrative trade, these figures also indicate the attempts of merchants to monopolise the woad market, as earlier Swayne had done.[15]

Madder (Maps 22–23). Madder was an important dyestuff, providing a red colouring, that came mainly from Germany and the Baltic. Southampton was merely one point of access to the English market. London was easier to reach direct by sea, hence its lesser importance in the overland trade from Southampton. Madder was distributed to only 27 places on the database (Map 22).[16]

Compared with woad, London was much less important. More madder was probably imported direct to London, since its source lay further east. Salisbury was by far and away the most important market for Southampton madder with 433 bales compared with only 148 for London. Two other towns deserve special attention. Romsey, with its specialist finishing industry, just exceeded London (155 bales) and Winchester (114 bales) was fourth. The next four destinations fell well behind: Coventry (20 bales), Gloucester (15) Alton (12), Ringwood (10).

The Southampton madder trade was at its peak in the 1440s, suffered a dramatic fall in the 1460s and 1478, but then recovered in the 1490s before almost disappearing in the sixteenth century (Fig. 15.6, Map 23). This reflected trends at its main customers Salisbury, London and Winchester. Thus Salisbury seems to have dropped dramatically in the late fifteenth century despite the recovery in 1491–2. The Coventry trade ceased in 1462. Romsey's trade was small after the 1440s, the Ringwood trade ceased by 1462, and Gloucester's importance is distorted by the high figures in 1448.

Other Dyes. Woad and madder were the main imported dyes from Southampton, and were the only ones used on any substantial scale. Grain, used for scarlet, was a particularly rare and expensive dye. It was measured in different units, but there were 53 consignments, all between 1440 and 1494, almost exclusively to London (47) with isolated deliveries to Salisbury, Newbury and Bristol. Until 1463 the London trade was entirely in the hands of the Genoese, such as Spinola, Cattaneo and Marini. The other dyestuffs were on an even smaller scale, and were also focused on London. The database provides us with 18 consignments of brasil, 13 of gallnuts, 11 of litmus (although only half for London),[17] 5 entries for saffron, a yellow dye also used for food, and 2 for orchil, a purple dye.

Alum (Maps 24, 25). Alum was a mordant, needed for fixing the colour of the dyestuffs. Initially the main source was the alum mines of Asia Minor, from where it was traded by the Genoese monopoly to the rest of Europe, although small quantities also came from southern Spain. Two changes in this

pattern occurred in the mid fifteenth century. The capture of Foglia by the Turks in 1455 led to their seizure of the alum mines in the eastern Mediterranean, the break-up of the Genoese monopoly, and to an interruption of this trade. Soon afterwards, the discovery of alum in 1462 at Tolfa in the papal states opened up a new source which the papacy was keen to operate as a monopoly under its own tight control and initially in close alliance with the Florentine Medici. Small quantities were also imported by the Castilians after the break-up of the Genoese monopoly. Thus they brought alum to Southampton in 1471 and 1484.[18]

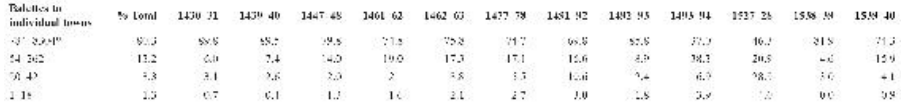


*Figure 15.5: Annual percentages of woad sent to groups of towns (in balettes). * 6 main destinations. See Fig. 15.4.*

Figure 15.6: Annual totals of madder from Southampton (in bales).

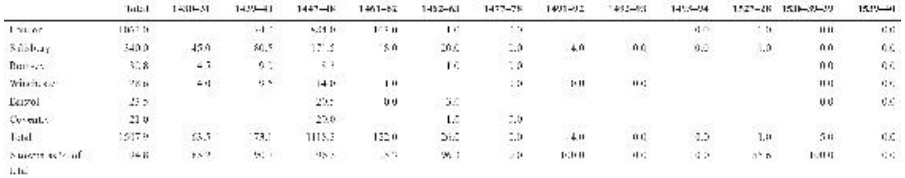


Figure 15.7: Alum consignments 1430–40 (by bales).

To an even greater extent than woad, alum was dominated by a small wealthy elite and by the Italians. The trade was dominated by London, which was the destination of 66.8% of the alum. Only Salisbury with a fifth (21.4%) of the total was also a substantial centre. The next largest, Romsey, took only 2.1% of the total, while only three towns (Winchester, Bristol and Coventry) exceeded 1%. Altogether 39 towns received alum from Southampton, virtually all of which can be identified as cloth producing centres.

Southampton's trade in alum was at its height of early in the period, from 1440 to 1462 (Fig. 15.7), dropped slightly in 1463 and 1478, and then still further in the 1490s. Its imports were negligible in the sixteenth century as alum was imported by sea to London. Southampton's trade with London was at its peak in 1440s, dropped in the 1460s and 1478, and thereafter was negligible, as alum imports were instead controlled through the London-Antwerp axis. Salisbury, at its peak in 1440s, continued at a lower level throughout the whole of the later fifteenth century, becoming negligible in the

sixteenth century. Virtually all of the reduced total imports of alum in the 1490s went to Salisbury (43 of 52 bales). Of the other towns, Coventry's imports were erratic, with 23 of 24 bales falling in 1447–8 and 1477–8. Winchester had significant imports in the 1440s, but little thereafter.

But who traded in alum? Here attention is focused on the two main centres, London and Salisbury. London trade was dominated by Londoners and to a lesser extent by the Italians, although the virtual disappearance of the Southampton trade after 1477–8 makes continued comparison much more difficult. At Salisbury, where trade was of longer standing, there was a lack of apparent Italians.[19] Those receiving alum included the mercantile elite of Salisbury, such as Swayne and Eston, but the city's differing role is indicated by those outsiders who traded with the city, as with woad. Residents of the cloth-making towns of Somerset and Wiltshire imported alum to Salisbury to be sold. Here those from the towns of Bruton, Leigh on Mendip, Mere, Bristol, Taunton, Wells, Glastonbury and Southampton were among the traders.

Oil, soap, and other materials (Maps 26, 27, 28A)

Although some cloth was exported in an undyed form, the colouring of cloth was an obvious requirement. The industry also required other imported components, particularly as it became such a major player in international trade and the poorer local alternatives were replaced. Both oil and soap were evidently used in the industry: it is not clear how much was used for industrial and how much for domestic use. The process of cloth manufacture required both the cleansing of the cloth and regreasing to replace the natural oils prior to carding. Olive oil was produced in Andalucia, Portugal and the Mediterranean and was brought in English, Spanish and Italian shipping. Better quality oil could be used for cooking, but the poorer quality and older product was used for oiling the wool, prior to carding or combing and weaving.[20]

Oil was sent to 53 places, predominantly to cloth-producing centres and in central southern England, and to London, although some went much further, for example to Leominster and Manchester. The London trade was almost exclusively dominated by the Genoese, although it should be emphasised that three-quarters (73.9%) of its trade belonged to the year 1461–2 and was the responsibility of Cattanei and Spinola, and that little was imported after that date. 1462–3 witnessed a dramatic fall, in what seems to have been an exceptionally bad year, probably as a result of the end of this direct Genoese trade. Although Castilian oil may have taken up some of this slack, Southampton's trade never fully recovered. The three major centres showed differing patterns. London was the least of the three, except for the 2 years, 1461–2 when it was second, and 1491–2, when it exceeded both Salisbury and Winchester. Thereafter London now imported little and nothing in the

sixteenth century, probably trading via Antwerp. Salisbury was usually the greatest market for oil. Oil imports to Salisbury and Winchester declined in the latter fifteenth century. Winchester was the more resilient. Besides gaining top place in 1447–8, it regularly imported most oil in the later fifteenth century after 1463, although it again lost out to Salisbury in the sixteenth century.

Soap was used for cleaning the wool or during the fulling of the cloth, gradually replacing the traditional mix of urine and fullers earth, as well as for personal use. It came in three types: white, black and undifferentiated soap. Black soap came in barrels and was measured in barrels, unlike the other two types, suggesting that the unspecified soap is probably nearer in function to the white soap. This industrial black soap was of lower value and was largely restricted to the 1440s, and was little used, or little specified after 1447–8. Thirteen places were recipients of black soap, mainly cloth producing centres. Only Salisbury (with 246 barrels and 80.8% of the total) received it on a large scale, from where it would have been distributed to the cloth industry around. Of the remaining towns Winchester was second with only 25 barrels, London received 7, Bristol 5 and Romsey 4.5. Other places were occasional recipients, but reinforce the link to cloth or wool: Newbury, Andover, Burford, Gloucester, Abingdon and Leominster (Map 28A). The destination of all types of soap, suggests that most was for industrial purposes. Taking all soap together reveals the domination of Salisbury, which received four times as many consignments as London and Winchester, the next two most prominent centres. Trailing behind but well above other centres were the cloth towns of Romsey and Devizes, the latter well-known for its undyed broadcloths. Soap imports fell from 1462–3 onwards (with the exception of 1491–2), were low in the sixteenth century, and lowest of all in 1438–40.

	Amount in gallons	% of total
London	44,179	27.8
Salisbury	38,659	24.3
Winchester	28,009	17.6
Romsey	10,807	6.8
Newbury	5,142	3.2
Coventry	2,520	1.6
Wilton	2,016	1.3
Andover	1,862	1.2
Alton	1,702	1.1
Reading	1,544	1.0
Total of all places	158,914	85.9

Figure 15.8: Oil: Main recipients.

	1430 1	1440 1	1447 8	1461 2	1462 3	1477 8	1491 2	1492 3	1527 8	1538 9	1539 40
Total	15,939	19,412	22,091	44,307	2,143	15,072	11,474	13,359	2,424	693	2,718

Figure 15.9: Annual figures for oil (in gallons).

	Black soap in barrels	% of total
Salisbury	246.5	80.8
Winchester	25	8.2
London	7	2.3
Bristol	5	1.6
Romsey	4.5	1.5
Total	305	94.4

Figure 15.10: Main recipients of black soap.

Fullers' earth was a requirement for the fulling stage of cloth making. It was found locally, as in North-West Wiltshire, so that generally it did not need to be imported. Only 18 entries were found, although all were in 1439–40. It is not clear whether subsequently it was imported through one of the adjacent ports or whether imports ceased. Significantly most of the entries were for Hampshire (13) and the southern part of the county.[21]

The finishing processes which were designed to consolidate the surface of the cloth also involved raising the nap of the cloth prior to being sheared off. The raising the nap was done by brushing over the cloth with teasels set in a frame. Again most teasels were local products supplemented with occasional imports. 72 batches were found, most of which were for the main local centres, Salisbury (36), Romsey (14) and Winchester (9). Almost half came in 1462–3 (33) when 23 concerned Salisbury. Interestingly 18 of these belonged to William Boket, the city's greatest merchant of his day, raising the issue of whether there may have been a short term crisis in the supply of an item that was essential but could easily be taken for granted.

Equipment for the industry also tended to be a supplement to local production. Thus cards were needed to card the wool before spinning, and a small quantity were imported, 37 being recorded in the database. The largest quantity, not surprisingly, went to Salisbury (15), but a few other destinations were involved, London (5), Winchester (5), Newbury (4), Romsey (3) and Basingstoke (1). Only a single batch of shears (6) were recorded, and these were sent to Salisbury, in 1439–40.

Notes

1 Comments based on the database can be referenced from the database itself and the date concerned. Only references to a specific individual entry are given.
2 See below Ch. 17.
3 On these figures, see *Prospering Society*, 184–5, 107.
4 On the woad trade, see E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'La Guède Française en Angleterre: Un Grand Commerce du Moyen Age', *Revue du Nord* 35 (1953), 89–105; on Toulouse, and on the Spanish trade, see Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, 107–8; Ruddock, 81–2.
5 Coleman, 1443–4,321.
6 Ruddock, 82.
7 Quinn, Port *Books, xi*.
8 Coleman, 1443–4, 321. Her figures are slightly different than those of the database but include all three years.
9 E. M. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers* (London, 1967), 37.
10 Frome is excluded since it was already well-established in the trade. This increased trade may have begun at Bradford in 1448.
11 Coleman, 1443–4, 322–4.
12 See above, Ch. 6.
13 *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, vol. I (1514–1602), ed. A. L. Merson, SRSerii (1952) 61–2.
14 Yates, *Western Berkshire*, 86 (1534–5, 381; 1537, 878 balettes).
15 See above Ch. 8.
16 Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, 107.
17 London (6), Romsey (3), Bristol (1), Salisbury (1).
18 Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, 109–11; T. Penn, *Winter King, The Dawn of Tudor England* (London, 2011), 201–4, 250–2; Ruddock, 213–5.
19 Naturalised Italians are excluded, e.g. Christopher Ambrose and the Bristol merchant Moses Contarini.
20 Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, 109–11; J. H. Munro, 'Medieval Woollens: Textiles, Textile Technology and Industrial Organisation, *c*. 800–1500', *Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. D. Jenkins, I (Cambridge, 2003), 185; Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers*, 184.
21 The other entries were for Salisbury (3), Abingdon and Guildford.

Chapter 16

MISCELLANEOUS COMMODITIES[1]

John Hare

Introduction

The most important goods have been dealt with in previous chapters: wine, fish, the goods required by the cloth industry, and the spices and luxuries that came from the Mediterranean. Other goods need to be considered, albeit more briefly. This chapter briefly surveys a selection of some of these products: malt and hops, wool, tin, lead and iron, salt and bowstaves. It provides a reminder that the brokage books enable the study of a wide range of goods in addition to those examined fully in this book.

Grain and Hops

Grain does not figure prominently since the port's hinterland included the fertile chalkland valleys. Most references to grain were to it being brought into the town by cart rather than to it being sent away, and much may have been for local consumption. The town and the fleets needed to be fed. One exceptional year was 1447–8, when there were 85 consignments sent inland of which 62% were for the urban centres of Winchester and Salisbury The concentration in May and June suggests the presence of food shortages before the harvest.[2]

There were a large number of entries for malt, but few record the source of the consignments, where they were sent to, even whether they travelled into and out from Southampton, and often they do not give amounts. Given the good barley land of the chalkland valleys, most were probably being sent into the port. This was certainly the case with those where it can be established whether they were being sent in or out (98% of specified places or 63% of all entries). The most active years for arrivals of malt were 1461–2 (149), 1462–3 (112) and 1492–3 (116). Overall there was an average of 59 entries, although such consignments became minimal in the sixteenth century. The inadequate list of places suggests that malt was being mainly brought in from the nearby

towns of Ringwood and Andover and its immediate hinterland. Of the small number (11) of entries recorded for goods sent outwards, most (7) belonged to 1447–8, again suggesting this was not a typical year. Four of these consignments were sent to Romsey.

Hops were increasingly important in the fifteenth century, allowing larger scale production of beer rather than ale, and spreading it from town to countryside.[3] Beer production originated in London and then spread out. This was reflected in the brokage books, where only occasional references occur in the earlier accounts before the 1490s. Only urban Salisbury and Winchester were destinations for hops in 1440–63. They remained the centre of trading and perhaps of consumption. Beer appeared first in those places where large-scale production was most advantageous. Throughout the period, Salisbury was the recipient for 54 consignments and Winchester with 31, while Romsey, next on the list, received only four. There were more frequent accounts from the sixteenth century, when Salisbury (29) and Winchester (20) predominated. The other destinations were also towns: Andover and Basingstoke (3), Romsey and Hungerford (2).

Wool and Hides

Wool was an important export for Southampton, where most exports were in the hands of the Italians. It was also an important raw material for the textile area around. The brokage books are less valuable for this part of the town's trade. Goods coming into the town are much less systematically or fully recorded than those of the outgoing overland trade and are not consistently measured. Moreover, the textile area lay in the heart of some of the greatest sheep farming areas of the period, so that wool sent inland was not a regular requirement. Of the 519 transactions recorded, the vast majority (379 = 73%) were coming into the port for export. Moreover, 43% of the total transactions were for London, nearly all of which were incoming. This again reflected the importance of wool. The brokage books and the record of Southampton's Wool House show the dominance of the Cotswolds in Southampton's wool trade.[4] The wool was generally collected in London and then transferred to Southampton for export, usually by the Italians. Apart from London, the wool came from 34 places predominantly in the Cotswolds and the towns that served the area. The main recorded sources were also associated with the Cotswold hinterland. Coventry (20 transactions), Newbury (16), Oxford (13), Gloucester (11), Abingdon (10), Cirencester (7), Northampton (5), Henley (5), Burford (4), Reading (4). Salisbury(7) and Winchester (7) were key trading centres for Southampton and were sufficiently major wool markets to be exceptions from outside this area. Wool was sent to 29 places, with Romsey (an important cloth town but with easiest access to the port) the most important (with 14 transactions), followed by Mells (5), Warminster (2) and Wilton (2). But on the whole wool imports from abroad do not seem to have

been significant (Map 17).

1439–40	1447–8	1461–2	1462–3	1477–8	1491–2	1492–3	1527–8	1538–9	1539–40
1	4	1	3	3	18	6	16	32	40

Figure 16.1: Consignments of hops from Southampton (in carts).

Figure 16.2: The Southampton Wool House (exterior).

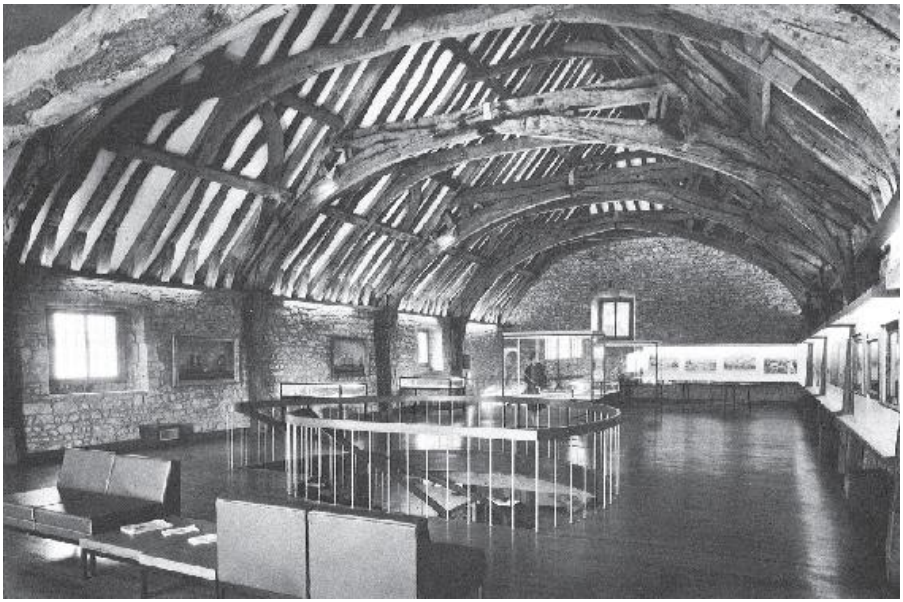


Figure 16.3: The Southampton Wool House (interior).

Hides were exported in substantial quantities through the port. Their presence reflected the cattle farming of the Hampshire basin and of the sheep flocks of the downlands beyond. But while the brokage books provide many entries concerning hides, they rarely provide us with other basic information such as whether they were being brought in or sent out, or where was the destination of the journey. They are thus singularly unhelpful in telling us about this industry.

Salt (Map 28B)

Salt was an essential item as a food preservative. It was brought from abroad, particularly grey salt from the Bay of Biscay, but white salt was also produced in England, both from mined salt in the north-west midlands and from the salterns on the nearby south coast. The salthouse at West Quay, with its demands for wood, existed by 1573 if not earlier.[5] Annual imports through Southampton fluctuated considerably but seem to have been high in the late fifteenth century. Salt was local in its distribution (see Map 28B). These variations reflected the range of possible sources through which it could enter. In addition salt produced on the salterns on the south coast of Hampshire was unlikely to be imported through Southampton.[6] Figure 16.5 highlights the respective roles of Winchester and Salisbury. This must be the only substantial product where Salisbury ranked far behind the older city of Winchester in importance. Salisbury could be supplied direct from the salterns up the Avon valley or with imported salt through Poole.

Raw Materials: Tin, Lead and Coal

These goods were all produced in England and were bulk raw materials normally transported by sea, where their import was recorded in the port books.[7] Tin and lead were both major exports. Tin was brought from Cornwall, with much of the organisation of the industry based on London. Southampton became more important in the second half of the fifteenth century and in 1492 it became the national staple for tin, whereafter in theory all the tin for export should have gone through the port.[8] Initially this export trade was largely under the control of the Italians[9] and then of the Londoners. In 1440 and 1448 tin was sent from London, none of it sent overland from Southampton. The overland trade in tin was at its peak in 1462, 1463 and 1528, when virtually all was sent to London. Thereafter, the scale of activity declined, probably as a result of more being sent directly by sea from Cornwall to London.

The dominance of the capital was very noticeable, with approximately 90% of the tin being sent to London. Salisbury generally received some tin each year, never more than three consignments. Other destinations included Romsey, Reading, Abingdon, Ringwood, Poole, Banbury, Sherborne and

Kingston. John Dowgo of London was a major player in 1461–3, carrying almost exclusively to London, but also including five journeys to Reading in 1463.[10]

Lead came from Derbyshire and Yorkshire. It could be imported by sea and then be transported overland or exported. Interestingly the brokage books refer only once to lead being sent inland, to Romsey in 1430 (1.33r8). It is not clear whether lead was normally brought to Southampton for the local markets, or shipped like stone through one of the adjacent ports, like St Denys. All other references are to overland import of lead to Southampton. Where the origin is identified, most came from London, which acted as the main point of distribution. Presumably lead was sent from London to Southampton for onward export. The other major entries were from Chesterfield (Derbyshire), whence lead was brought directly in 1461–3. The lead was from John Chalcroft (Calcroft), who in 1477–8 despatched seven consignments from Newark and more surprisingly one from Shrewsbury. Richard Blackwell sent lead from London and Coventry. Other places comprised those near the production areas (Derby and Wingfield) and those between them and Southampton (Coventry and Abingdon).[11] The account for 1539–40 presents a very different picture, reflecting the impact of the Dissolution of the monasteries and the stripping of lead from the roofs: 16 consignments belonged to [?] Dormer of Salisbury, 21 to Lord John de la Warr, and five to a man of Guernsey. The stripping of the monasteries most probably provided the lead for new coastal fortifications then being built along the south coast, the likely destinations.[12]

1430–1	1439–40	1447–8	1461–2	1462–3	1477–8	1491–2	1492–3	1527–8	1538–9	1539–40
12	40	24	70	3	179	57	89	19	46	120

Figure 16.4: Annual figures of salt sent inland from Southampton (in quarters).

	Salt in qtrs
Winchester	270
Salisbury	110
Romsey	63
Alton	18
Devizes	13
Mottisfont	12
Basingstoke	11

Figure 16.5: Destinations for more than 10 quarters of salt.

Coal was probably generally brought by sea and from the North East coast,[13] although it was only occasionally referred to as sea coal. Most references are to coal being sent inland to a very restricted area. Winchester

was the most important destination, followed by Romsey and by villages in the immediate hinterland in south and central Hampshire. Salisbury was noticeably absent. Secondly, a temporary and very different pattern emerged in 1461–3, when coal came in from the Mendip or Bristol parts of the Somerset coalfield: from Shepton Mallet, Bristol, Leigh on Mendip, Langport and Bath, with one entry from Salisbury reflecting its wider trading patterns, and London. Although the Mendip field is particularly poorly documented,[14] the combination of places in the brokage books suggest that it was already active and the most likely source. Did consumers have to change to a different source because of the interruption to sea trade by civil war in the north-east? Why did Salisbury not import coal from Southampton? Was it because Salisbury did not consume coal or because it secured coal by easier routes overland from the Somerset coalfield? Coal could be used both for domestic heating in Southampton and also for industrial use.. In 1439–40 the village of Twyford put in a rare appearance with four journeys (12 qtrs) of coal, with half being specifically the property of Cardinal Beaufort. This was at the very time when the cardinal was involved in major projects in the neighbouring parishes: at his residence at Marwell and his grand new stone built almshouses at the adjacent hospital of St Cross. Was the coal used for lime-making? Coal had become increasingly recognised as preferable to brushwood for producing lime from the late thirteenth century.[15]

Iron (Maps 32A and 32B)

Although England produced its own iron, it was also a heavy importer of iron in the fifteenth century, particularly from the Basque country, whose phosphorous-free ore was particularly advantageous in producing a high-quality product. Southampton was already an important port for this trade in the early fifteenth century, when most of its iron came from Spain. It shared in rising imports later in the fifteenth century. Fragmentary and erratic custom records suggest decline late in the fifteenth century, but the brokage figures indicate greater resilience (Fig. 16.7). Iron arrived both in English and Spanish ships.[16]

From Southampton iron was distributed to 88 centres (Maps 32A and 32B), of which the ten largest are examined here. In many ways they convey a familiar picture. Salisbury and Winchester dominated. The smaller towns of Hampshire were also prominent. The latter centres may have also marketed iron for more distant traders. Two places stand out because unexpected and deserve further attention: Cheriton and Hursley. Cheriton was a village, Hursley a settlement within the larger rural manor of Merdon. Hursley figures erratically in only 5 out of 11 years, and Cheriton only once after 1478. Both belonged to the bishops of Winchester, which may provide a clue as to why they figure so highly. The bishops were great builders and much iron was used in their buildings. They may have employed smiths to convert iron into the

appropriate goods required by a major building operation, perhaps utilising their own charcoal from the park at Merdon for a short and irregular period. Hursley experienced the most dramatic rise in 1491–3. Although it is difficult to be precise on the dating of appropriate building campaigns at Winchester cathedral, the rebuilding of the Lady Chapel, with its huge windows and its consequent need for iron, was begun under Bishop Courtenay (d. 1492), who seems to have been buried before the work was completed.[17] Those works at Cheriton in 1461–2 could have been part of the preparations for a major programme of work at Esher, or for the new great screen at Winchester cathedral. Other substantial blips may also indicate building works: three carts to Twyford in 1439–40, when Beaufort was actively building at nearby Wolvesey, Marwell and Bishop's Waltham together with neighbouring St Cross; seven carts to Coventry in 1477–8; four carts to Derby in the same year; and six carts to Wilton in 1430–1.

	No. of carts	% of total iron
Salisbury	219	26.3
Winchester	178	21.3
Romsey	5	7.8
Andover	38	4.6
Hursley	28	3.4
Newbury	21	2.5
Alresford	18	2.2
Alton	17	2.0
Basingstoke	16	1.9
Cheriton	11	1.3
Total (Top 10)	611	73.3
Total (all places)	874	

Figure 16.6: Top ten destinations of iron (by carts).

	1431	1440	1448	1461	1462	1478	1492	1493	1528	1539	1540
Salisbury	6	1	0	41	29	0	0	33	43	26	39
Winchester	7	14	27	18	11	11	6	22	22	10	25
Romsey	0	8	8	10	15	6	0	4	8	1	5
Andover	2	5	3	1	1	6	3	6	1	3	6
Hursley	0	1	0	0	0	2	16	6	0	0	2
Newbury	0	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	9	4	1
Alresford	0	2	0	3	0	5	2	0	1	4	1
Alton	0	0	1	3	6	1	3	1	2	0	0
Basingstoke	0	1	0	1	2	5	1	0	1	5	0
Cheriton	0	1	2	3	2	2	0	0	1	0	0
Total (1–10)	15	33	41	81	69	39	33	72	88	53	79
Total of all places	25	79	63	100	93	69	45	89	122	74	106

Figure 16.7: Annual trade: top ten recipients of iron (by carts).

This trade in Spanish iron is probably also reflected in the activities of the traders from Dudley in the midlands, 107 miles away, who from 1482 well into the sixteenth century, regularly supplied Winchester College with nails. They brought down manufactured nails to the south, and probably took back iron from one of the iron markets.[18]

Building Materials

A range of building materials, nails, pitch, slates, tiles, stone, wood were taken from Southampton to various town within a limited distance from the port. The greatest quantity went to Winchester. Most of this class of goods was carried only a short distance, since some were very cumbersome and others very heavy. London was the furthest destination, but materials for construction only went to London on three occasions over the whole period.

Since Southampton was focal point of trade for a substantial hinterland, the relative absence of traded stone may come as a surprise. Hampshire itself lacked good quality stone and most major building works needed freestone, yet only one such cart is recorded, apart from 22 carts of Caen stone. This absence requires explanation. Most imported freestone was brought from Beer (on the Dorset/Devon border) or from the Isle of Wight. Building accounts of the bishops reveal that sites in the immediate hinterland of Southampton did not obtain their stone from Southampton. The bishops generally used other ports up river, particularly St Denys and Botley. Stone was brought from Botley on the Hamble for Marwell in 1436 and 1354–5, to Bishop's Sutton in 1356, and to Alresford in 1307–8.[19] At Bishops Waltham, stone usually came to Pinkhaven (Pynkehaven) near Botley, or to St Denys and then on to Pinkhaven.[20] Stone was carried from St Denys to Marwell in 1435–6. Caen stone provides the exception to this pattern. This was a particularly high value stone, particularly for finely carved work, that was transported with other goods across the English Channel in the boats that regularly used the port of Southampton. In 1439 Caen stone was bought for Bishops Waltham at Southampton and the stone was then transhipped to Pinkhaven.[21] Virtually all the Caen stone recorded comes from two adjacent years 1539–1540 and apparently from one building programme. Although eleven carts went to undisclosed destinations during these two years, most were all for the same project, namely for the rebuilding of William Lord Sandys' new house on the site of Mottisfont Priory (now Mottisfont Abbey). In August 1538 Sandys was on a long stay in the village, where he oversaw the conversion of the monastic building.[22] In the autumn he was bringing in glass and wainscot, wine, fish, salt and hops from Southampton, suggesting that the initial conversion, probably of the prior's range, had been done and that the priory was habitable for the new owner and his household. Then in the summer of 1539 he began the major alterations to convert the nave of the church into a high quality great chamber and associated rooms, parts of which still survive. Here, Caen stone

was used and from August 1539 to August 1540 (most of it before April) 22 carts of this stone were sent from Southampton.[23] This also fits in neatly with the tree ring dating of 1539–40 for the felling of the trees used for the new roof of the range.[24] When Sandys died in 1540, his house was incomplete but operational and furnished.[25]

Slates were also generally not imported through Southampton itself. Most sent to Marwell in 1436 came from Botley, although some came through Southampton.[26] When slates were needed at Bishops Waltham, they were usually imported through St Denys and then carried to Pinkhaven or direct through Botley.[27] Most were blue slates from Devon and Cornwall, but some were limestone slates from Portland or Purbeck.

Building Materials			Materials taken and number of occasions when carts carried building materials to…
	Miles	*Km*	
London	61	98	wood; wood mould; twice in 1492–93; once in 1527–28
Marlborough	41	66	Tiles, twice in 1461–2
Newbury	35	56	Board nails once in 1439–40
Shaftesbury	34	55	Pitch, once 1491–92
Alton	25	40	Canes three times in 1447–48
Wilton	24	39	Boards once 1447–48
Salisbury	23	37	Hemp, nails, pitch, slates, stones, paving tiles; twice in 1430–31; 7 times in 1439–40; twice in 1447–48; 5 times in 1461–62; 4 times in 1462–63; once in 1477–78; 5 times 1491–92; once 1492–93; 9 times in 1527–28; once in 1538–39
Mottisfont	11	18	2 loads plaster; 10 loads and 1 ton of Caen stone; one occasion in 1538–9 and 8 in 1539–40
Romsey	7	11	Freestone, lathnails, nails, pitch; once in 1430–31; 3 occasions 1447–48; twice in 1461–2; twice in 1462–3
Winchester	7	11	Boards, Caen stone, flat stone; hemp; lathnails; ropes; paving stones; paving tiles; slates, tiles; wood, 5 times in 1430–31; once in 1439–40; ten times in 1447–48; 7 times in 1461–62; 8 times in 1462–63; once in 1492–93; twice in 1527–28; twice in 1538–39
Magdalen Hill, Winchester	7	11	Ropes, once 1447–48
Baddesley 4.5 miles	6	10	Slates once 1527–28

Figure 16.8: Building materials in the brokage books.

Tiles, sometimes specified as floor tiles, were usually glazed Flemish floor tiles. Hampshire was producing its own ceramic roof tiles in large quantities and need not have imported them.[28] These ceramic floor tiles have been found in archaeological excavations and may have been imported partly as ballast. They are also recorded in the bishop's pipe rolls, when brought from Southampton to Marwell and to Bishops Waltham in 1438–9.[29]

Wainscot could be produced locally, but the use of that imported through Southampton seems largely an urban phenomenon, 29 of the 38 carts going to Salisbury or Winchester. There were exceptions such as deliveries to Bishop Gardiner for his episcopal residence at Bishop's Waltham in 1538–9 (37.84r6).

Millstones and grinding stones, despite their weight, had to be carried long distances, to Oxford, Abingdon, Newbury and Reading (Map 29B).[30] They were only occasionally replaced with one or two to individual places. Even

the great city of Salisbury, which catered for most of Wiltshire, only received nine. The port books show that millstones were brought from Newcastle and from Holland and Flanders.[31]

The large scale of coastal traffic and bulk goods mean that brokage books can only provide a very incomplete view of the maritime involvement in building. But the great building works of leading figures such as the bishops of Winchester and, briefly, Lord Sandys have left their mark on the overland trade. They also provide a valuable reminder of the capacity of the brokage books to pick up short term changes that were happening in the localities.

Bowstaves (Maps 30, 31)

While bowstaves could be made from English wood, the finest and most effective timber for the long bow came from abroad, from Spain and the Baltic, where more even temperatures produced timber with straighter and tighter grain. Although there was a steady import of bowstaves, in the case of Southampton from the Mediterranean, the figures also show some interesting variations. Above all the figure for 1461–2 stands out. Civil war had resumed in 1461, and the participants and the military suppliers no doubt felt that this would go on for some time. Moreover, the pattern of distribution was very different. 1447–8 was the highest year, other than for these years of civil conflict. Then 59% of the total went to London where it presumably ended up in government purchases, compared with only 15.2% in 1461–2. Distribution in the latter year, went far beyond the locality and London. Bristol (the base for the Welsh marches) was the most important destination. Beyond the local counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire and Dorset much was distributed to the Midlands and the North, to Shrewsbury, Coventry, Derby, and Cirencester (Fig. 16.10). The following year saw lower quantities of bowstaves, although this was still the second highest quantity recorded. Now London, Bristol and Coventry had dropped out, and the three main destinations were Salisbury (2190), Derby (1620) and Shrewsbury (1260). Southampton ceased to be a source of bowstaves in the sixteenth century brokage books, although 300 were imported for a Coventry merchant in 1510.[32]

1430–1	1439–40	1447–8	1461–2	1462–3	1477–8	1491–2	1492–3	1527–8	1538–9	1539–40
120	612	4,680	18,138	6,780	2,133	1,020	1,040	0	0	0

Figure 16.9: Bowstaves (number).

	Bowstaves	As % age of total
Bristol	3240	17.9
London	2760	15.2
Shrewsbury	1680	9.3
Coventry	1588	8.8
Salisbury	1080	6.0
Thatcham	1080	6.0
Sherborne	960	5.3
Derby	900*	5.0
Cirencester	840	4.6
Manchester	780	4.3
Newbury	420	2.3
Oxford	270	1.5
Marlborough	240	1.3
Malmesbury	120	0.7
Winchester	120	0.7
Unspecified	1760	9.7
Total	18,138	

*1 of the 3 consignment not given a number of bowstaves

Figure 16.10: Bowstaves despatched from Southampton in 1461–2.

Notes

1 Comments can be referenced from the database itself and the date concerned. Only references to an individual specific reference are given. All years are based on the accounting year and not the calendar year.

2 With the exception of 1447–8, the highest figures were 10 consignments in 1527–8 and 6 in 1461.

3 R. W. Ungar, *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 2007), 102. For the importance of the change, see M. E. Mate, *Trade and Economic Developments, 1450–1550, The Experience of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex* (Woodbridge, 2006), 60–80.

4 Ruddock, 89–90, on the importance of the Cotswolds for wool exports, see also E. Power, 'The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century', in E. Power and M. M. Postan, *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (London 1933), 39–90, and C. Dyer, *A Country Merchant, 1495–1520* (Oxford 2012) esp. Chs. 5 and 5.

5 *Court Leet Rec*ords, I (pt. 1), *1550–1577*, ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, SRSoc 1 (1905), 81–2. (1). Mrs L. Fairbrother kindly supplied this reference.

6 On the salt industry in Lymington and southern Hampshire, see A. T. Lloyd, 'The Salterns of the Lymington Area', *PHFC* 24 (1967); C. H. Vellacott, 'Salt', *VCH Hants*.v. 86–88.

7 *The Port Books of Southampton, 1427–30*, ed. P. Studer, SRSoc15 (1913), 127; *The Local Port Book for Southampton, 1435–6*, ed. B. Foster, SRSer 7 (1963), 3.

8 R. F. Homer, 'Tin, Lead and Pewter', *English Medieval Industries*, ed. J. Blair and N. Ramsay (1991), 62; Ruddock, 90–1.
9 J. Hatcher, *English Tin Production and Trade before 1550*, (Oxford, 1973), 100–1.
10 *Ibid*. 138 and database.
11 On the distribution of lead production see I. W. S. Blanchard, 'Lead Mining and Smelting in Medieval England and Wales', *Medieval Industry*, ed. D. W. Crossley (London, 1981), 80–3.
12 H. M. Colvin, J. Summerson, M. Biddle, J. R. Hale and M. Merriman, *The History of the King's Works*, iv, *1485–1660* (London 1982), 367–383.
13 E.g. Kingston, see Studer, *Port Books 1427–30*, 127.
14 On the Mendip coalfield, see J. Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal Industry*, Vol. 1, *Before 1700. Towards the Age of Coal* (Oxford, 1993), 174, 181–4, and on the small field east of Bristol, *ibid*. i. 178–181.
15 *Ibid*. i. 425–6.
16 W. R. Childs, 'England's Iron Trade in the Fifteenth Century', *EcHR* 2nd ser. 34 (1981), 25–47. The Southampton figures are on *ibid*. 28–9, 35.
17 The rebuilding of the Lady Chapel was begun during Courtenay's episcopate. Hence the incorporation of his arms and his burial in its undercroft, see M. Bullen, J. Crook, R. Hubbuck, and N. Pevsner, *Hampshire: Winchester and the North* (London, 2010), 583; J. Crook, 'The Tomb of Prior Hunton in St James' Church Hunton, Hampshire and the Burials in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral', *PHFC* 63 (2008), 26, 29, 33.
18 Harwood, Iron and Wax, 7–10.
19 HRO 11M59/B1/179; 107, 108; B1/63.
20 E.g. HRO 11M59/BW20, 24, 28, 29; 11M59/147.
21 HRO 11M59/B64.
22 *The Lisle Letters*, ed. M. St. Clare Byrne (Chicago 1981), v. 205–6.
23 In some cases the entries are incomplete but the context makes it clear that they belong to this programme
24 E. Roberts, *Hampshire Houses, 1250–1700* (Winchester, 2003), 237.
25 Leland, *Itinerary*, 211. The great chamber and adjacent rooms fitted with tapestries of David and Solomon 1541, see M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House* (London (1987), 115.
26 HRO 11M59/B1/179 20r.
27 HRO 11M59/BW31, 51, 62; B1/164.
28 J. N. Hare, 'The Growth of the Roof-Tile Industry in Later Medieval Wessex', *Medieval Archaeology* 35 (1991), 86–103.
29 HRO 11M59/B1/180 m21v; BW64.
30 But millstone sent to Andwell in 1439/40, see Ch. 17 n. 1 (3.106v8).
31 Studer, *Port Books, 1427–30*, 129; Cobb, *Port Book 1439–40*, 26; Foster, *Port Book, 1435–6*, 2.
32 T. B. James, *The Port Book of Southampton, 1509–10*, SRSer. 32 (1990), 126.

Chapter 17

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE BROKAGE BOOKS

John Hare and Winifred A. Harwood

The Usefulness of the Source

The brokage books of Southampton are a unique source of immense potential for finding out about a part of the economy, its inland trade, that is usually hidden in documentary darkness. The three different dues on goods leaving the town were calculated using different information. The books were intended to identify all sums due and therefore recorded all relevant detail: what was sent, to where, who carried it, and who owned it. They thus include a range of evidence greater than the piecemeal survivors of other urban customs and tolls. The survival of the brokage series over a century has no English parallel at so early a date. Moreover, the consistency of the source is also remarkable: there appears to be none of the formalisation, standardisation, compounding, fictionalisation or other degeneration commonplace amongst some other medieval taxes. Of course they were written to fifteenth-century standards for fifteenth-century needs. They were not compiled with modern historians in mind and regrettably omit much that is now desired. Historians must always be sceptical of their sources. Inevitably the preparation of the database and the writing of this book has revealed defects and has forced the authors to reconsider the value and limitations of their material. Amidst some inevitable frustration, the authors are left with a positive sense of the enormous value of the database.

Each brokage book provides a survey of trade going inland from Southampton in an individual year. There are some problems. The figures may not be exact and the image may be slightly out of focus, but each book conveys a sense of what was happening, and the whole source is greatly strengthened by being based on 12 years' records. Whereas even one image for the whole period is valuable, 12 years, over more than a century provide both a long-term picture of common elements as well as a jerky impression of

movement and change and raise both questions and some answers. The maps and the text of this volume show both the continuities and the changes of the period. If Southampton was not a typical port, its range of activities may nevertheless be particularly informative. It was a general port competing with others along the coast for common goods such as fish, but it was also a particular port serving the specialist Italian and Mediterranean trade and thus brought into the country goods, such as luxuries and dye stuffs, that were not generally available in other English ports. Fish, wine and woad were three items that were both widespread in their use, and thus in their statistics, which therefore act as representatives of these different inland trading patterns. Southampton was also an extremely important outlet for many goods, such as wool, cloth, lead, tin and hides being sent to the Mediterranean and elsewhere. The main items exported by sea figure much less in the brokage books than imports, but the exchange of exports and imports lies at the heart of its inland trade. To see the nature of the evidence on which the database has been constructed, readers are directed to the main navigation bar of the website (www.overlandtrade.org) and the information provided there, to the comments in the notes section of the database, as well as examining the printed editions of the brokage books themselves. Only through an understanding of the data can historians hope to handle it effectively.

Problems of the Source

Like any source, these books pose problems. Although remarkably consistent overall, there is still some uneveness, unsurprising in a source that covers over a century, with individual changes in policy or just the changing moods of and pressure on the clerk, from one week or day to the next. Goods may be defined in different ways. The user of the database must decide which are the most useful divisions for the topic that is being tackled. The second most important group of fish, after herring, was 'fish non-specific' or simply described as fish! Herring themselves are divided up into herring and five smaller categories, although these were judged here as better to amalgamate for the purposes of discussion and analysis.[1] While malmsey and rumney wine are distinguished separately, it is not clear whether this is always done and whether these are sometimes included in the general description 'wine'.[2] Some entries show that one or other of places, goods or people have been simply omitted. It was the prototype book for 1430–1 that most frequently left out the destination that was normally included from 1439.[3] The location of the owner of the goods is usually recorded, although there were situations where brokage as opposed to the other tolls were not levied and where it was not therefore necessary to record the destination. Sometimes in dealing with a group of carts, the clerk felt it unnecessary to repeat all the details every time (as with the building works at Mottisfont in 1538–40), although close examination of the database can, as in this case, establish the situation. The

ownership of goods, was not always clear or specified. Some questions are left unanswered: were goods that were sent to small places like Wherwell and Southwick being sent directly to the religious house there or to someone else in anticipation of a sale to the monastery?

It was appreciated from the start that measurements would pose considerable problems. Standardising by the smallest common unit (e.g. gallons for wine) is a partial but limited solution. Different items are recorded in different ways such as barrels, ballets, bales, hundredweights, and tuns. Even here the records are not always consistent. Herrings are measured in barrels, yet other fish may be recorded in numbers or consignments. There are the problems of accuracy and standardisation of units, discussed above.[4] Generally speaking, the broker indicated in the text when a barrel differed in capacity: whether he did so consistently is again a matter of opinion, but he took the trouble to do so on occasion.[5] All this makes it difficult to compare transactions of one product with those of another. One way round this problem is to enumerate the cart journeys, a much cruder concept particularly for small high value goods where several items may have been included in one load, but carts may contain the goods of more than one person or of several products. For spices and goods sent in small quantities not requiring the space on a separate cart, it was sensible to analyse by the number of times the particular spice was sent to a particular place. Chapter 13 shows how counting occasions can reveal trends and changing patterns of trade. For wax, a bale could vary in weight: to enable comparison, a series of tables calculated the different results if a bale equalled 2C or 4C (Figs 13.11 and 13.12). Alternatively carts can be counted but these also pose difficulties. A cart could be used by several recipients, or carry several commodities, or might be one of a group of carts, all of which can be difficult to allocate precisely. Moreover, the cash value of a cartload varied considerably depending on the commodity. Carts may nevertheless be a useful crude indicator of the scale of activity of a place or a person. Transactions or consignments are another possible way forward, easier to assign to person or commodity even though each might vary enormously in mass and value. In short each author has had to decide what is the appropriate unit of measurement for a particular item or problem, appreciate the difficulties in comparing trends from one type of commodity to another, and make judgements about how to cope with these issues.

The brokage books provide a huge number of personal and place names. The fifteenth-century clerks had difficulties with the transcription of names that they encountered orally, and only local studies can secure some of these identifications. Foreign names give particular problems.[6] Surnames, moreover, were not always fixed as other sources have made clear. Occasionally places may be debateable, so that there are several Twyfords in Southampton's extensive hinterland. While these have been standardised for the database, further modification may prove to be necessary. In general

where a place name is ambiguous, the nearest location to Southampton has been taken unless there seems good reason to prefer a more distant alternative.

One major problem concerned incoming goods. For those sent inland from the town our record should be complete, but for incoming goods this was not the case. Uncustomed goods coming in on horseback were not required to pay and thus would escape being recorded. Empty carts did not pay.[7] But how did all the cloth and hides get there? Much cloth was brought from London, but the figures seem to bear little relationship to the export of cloth in a particular year (see Chapter 15). Southampton strongly controlled outgoing trade, liable ideally for brokage, local customs, and pontage, and funnelled it through the Bargate, but for incoming trade only pontage of 1d was due, so entry through other gates may often have been condoned. The unreliable record of incoming goods makes this a book largely about goods sent inland from Southampton where evidence is so much fuller.

This issue of evasion is one that needs to be considered. Whilst evasion may have occurred, the town had a strong incentive to record the trade – it was a major element in town revenues – and there seems no reason to suppose that cheating was on any dramatic scale. Chapter 1 records known occasions when the broker enforced the system. For incoming trade the incentive was absent.

Finally we must remember that any single year must be subject to questions about its typicality. The dependence on Italian trade with its great annual fluctuations, as shown in the figures for cloth exports, would have made the port, and its inland trade, particularly vulnerable. Long term trends need disentangling from short term fluctuation. Thus how far were the changes in 1461 the product of short term interruptions to trade resulting from Anglo-French politics and how far from the longer term recession?

Reliability

The brokage books are a unique and incredibly valuable source but do pose problems. They suggest working documents that for all their imperfections are firmly based in the reality of what was happening. They are in no ways a figment of the imagination. Thus study of the economy of individual towns reveals enough individuals who were active in their communities to demonstrate that the names are based in the reality of local communities and economies. The trading patterns revealed are difficult to explain other than as a record of what was occurring. There seems no evidence of obvious distortion of destinations: Salisbury for example, was in a higher band of payment, than if it had been a few miles closer. But there is no evidence of significant numbers of people claiming to be sending goods to places on the fringes of the lower price tax boundary. Many items are stated to be sent to Salisbury, although owned by people who lived further afield. But the fact that within the same account the same merchant is sending some of his goods to

Salisbury and some to his home town suggests a record of conscious decision making and not of fictional changes.[8]

Finally, occasionally unusual items can be checked against other sources and these reinforce the sense of accuracy. The aftermath of the dissolution of the monasteries at Mottisfont provides one such obvious example. Amongst other things there was a sudden importing of Caen stone, such as would have been required for the new chamber block that we know, on documentary, archaeological and dendrochronological grounds, was being built at this time.[9] While the evidence is less direct, the sudden spate of iron consumption at the villages of Hursley and Cheriton most likely results from the contemporary building activities of the bishops of Winchester.[10] A millstone was sent to the obscure north Hampshire manor of Andwell in 1440 (3.106v8), at a time (1438–42) when repairs were being carried out at the mill.[11]

Conclusion

The Southampton brokage books are a source of huge potential. They must be used with caution, but they are firmly entrenched in the realities of internal trade and traders. They offer the opportunity to examine internal trade such as would not otherwise be possible. The result may lack sharp focus. Care needs to be taken not to read significance into minor apparent changes, or changes based on only occasional items. Allowance should be made for a healthy margin of error, before reading any significance into any change. The maps provide both a view of the geographical spread of goods from the port in a single year, and the opportunity to examine change over time.

This book has merely scratched the surface of the source's potential. This extraordinary documentation deserves further work and it is to be hoped that others will take up the challenge in expanding the database. Only a relatively small number of books have been included on the database, and although the surviving sequence is not complete, the undigested books have the potential to answer some of the questions that still remain. Trade was at its peak in the 1440s, where the typicality of the two included accounts can be compared with the two printed accounts and two other unpublished ones. There was a dramatic change between the 1440s and 1460–1, but was this a recent development or was this already apparent in 1456–7? Did the pattern of the early 1460s typify the picture of the four accounts of the rest of the decade, or was it a much more short-term fluctuation? How far did they show the impact of the cessation of Genoese shipping? There are several later accounts from the 1470s and 1480s that should provide a picture of trade in the later part of the century. How did the account of 1505–6, at a time when cloth exports were expanding, compare with other early sixteenth century accounts. There are also groups for 1540s and 1550s, and one for 1565–6, all in the period after the end of the Italian trade.[12] At the same time the achievements of this project could be enhanced by linking the overland trade to local and national

custom records.

Historians must apply themselves to these sources with caution and judgement. The brokage books can be both frustrating and exciting in their opportunities. An awareness of the difficulties is vital to make more effective use of this unique material. The books, the database and the maps provide the opportunities both to draw conclusions and to ask questions about a vitally important and sadly neglected facet of the late medieval economy.

Notes

1 See above Ch. 14.
2 See above Ch. 12.
3 See above Ch. 1.
4 See Technical Foreword.
5 See above Technical Foreword n. 3.
6 See above Ch. 6.
7 Coleman, *Brokage Book 1443–4*, xxiii–iv.
8 See above Ch. 10.
9 See above Ch. 16.
10 See above Ch. 16.
11 WCM 3131–4, although curiously the manorial account rolls and the brokage books do not match, as the millstone in 1440 came from Newbury, and it is the previous year when an unspecified source for a millstone may have been from Southampton.
12 All are in Southampton Archives Services, SC 5/5/1–52.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscript Sources

Devon Record Office

M4 Box 1750: Exeter Mayor's Court Roll 18–19 Henry VI, rot. 23v.

Hampshire Record Office, Winchester [HRO]

4M51/14, 23, 25 Manors, court rolls
11M59/ Bishopric of Winchester
148M71 Hastings Borough

The National Archives [TNA]

C1 Chancery, Early Chancery Proceedings
C146 Chancery, Ancient Deeds
E101 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts
E122 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Customs Particulars
E159 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Memoranda Rolls

Prato Archivio di Stato di Prato

Fondo Datini 308924, 407474, 313040, 407471, 509989, www.datini.archiviodistato.prato.it

Southampton Archives Office

SC5/5 Bailiffs' Rolls and Borough Books

Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, Chippenham

G23/1/2 Salisbury General Entry Book Ledger B
G25/1/88 Calne Accounts of steward of the Gild Merchant

Winchester College Muniments [WCM]

12233 Andwell map [plan of Hurstland]
A56–66 Ashford and Itchenstoke
22207 Winchester College Inventory

Published Primary Sources

The Accounts of the Chamberlains of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1508–1511, ed. Fraser, C. M. (Newcastle, 1987)

Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey, 1275–1513, ed. Searle, E. and Ross, B. (Sydney, 1967)

Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company 1453–1527, ed. Lyell, L. and Watney, F. D. (Cambridge 1936)

The Admiralty Court Book of Southampton, 1566–1585, ed. Welch, E., Southampton Records Series 13 (1968)

The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century. The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483–4, ed. Bolton, J. L., Richard III and Yorkist History Trust (Stamford, 1998)

Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury, I, Royal Commission for Historical Monuments (1980)

The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, ed. Butler, C., Southampton Records Series 41 (2007)

Bristol's Trade with Ireland and the Continent, ed. Flavin, S. and Jones, E. T., Bristol Record Society 61 (2009)

The Brokage Book of Southampton from 1439–40, ed. Bunyard, B. D. M., Southampton Record Society 40 (1941)

The Brokage Book of Southampton, 1443–1444, 2 vols, ed. Coleman, O., Southampton Records Series 4, 6 (1960–1)

The Brokage Books of Southampton for 1477–8 and 1527–8, ed. Stevens, K. F. and Olding, T. E., Southampton Records Series 28 (1985)

Brown, Duncan H., *Pottery in Medieval Southampton c. 1066–1510*, CBA Research Report 133 (2002) Southampton Archaeology Monograph 8 (2002).

Calendar of the Close Rolls 1422–1509, 11 vols (London, 1933–63)

Calendar of Letter-Books preserved among the archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, ed. Sharpe, R. R. 11 vols (London, 1899–1912)

Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1429–1509, 11 vols (London, 1901–16)

Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1547–1603, 12 vols. (London 1856–72)

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice, ed. R. Brown (London, 1864)

The Cartulary of The Priory of St Denys Near Southampton, ed. Blake, E. O., Southampton Records Series 24, 25 and microfiche (1981, 1982)

The Cely Letters 1472–1488, ed. A. Hanham, Early English Text Society 273 (1975)

The Compotus Rolls of the Obedientaries of St Swithun's Priory, ed. Kitchin, G. W., Hampshire Record Society 7 (1892)

'The Custom Book of Chepstow, 1535–6', ed. Dimmock, S., *Studia Celtica* 38 (2004)

Excavations in Southampton, 1953–1969, ed. Platt, C. and Coleman-Smith, R., 2 vols (Leicester, 1975)

The First General Entry Book of the City of Salisbury 1387–1452, ed. Carr, D. R., Wiltshire Record Society 54 (2001)

The Great Wardrobe Accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII, ed. Hayward, M., London Record Society 47 (2012)

The Haveners' Accounts of the Earl of Cornwall 1287–1356, ed. Kowaleski, M., Devon and Cornwall Record Society 44 (2001)

Household Accounts from Medieval England, ed. Woolgar, C. M., 2 vols Records of Social and Economic History xvii, xviii (Oxford, 1993)

Illustrated Letters of the Paston Family. Private Life in the Fifteenth Century, ed. Virgoe, R. (1989)

John Leland's Itinerary, ed. Chandler, J. (Stroud, 1993)

The Lay Subsidy of 1334, ed. R. E. Glasscock (London, 1975)

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 23 vols. (London, 1862–1910)
The Local Port Book of Southampton, 1435–6, ed. Foster, B., Southampton Records Series 7 (1963)
The Local Port Book of Southampton for 1439–40, ed. Cobb, H. S., Southampton Records Series 5 (1961)
'The London Journal of Alessandro Magno, 1562', ed. Barron, C. M., Coleman, C. and Gobbi, C., *London Journal* 9 (1983)
Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis Liber Albus, ed. Riley, H. T., Rolls Series (London 1859)
The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages, ed. Carus-Wilson, E. M., Bristol Record Society 7 (1937)
The Overseas Trade of London: Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480–1, ed. Cobb, H. S., London Record Society 27 (1990)
The Port Books of Southampton: or (Anglo-French) accounts of Robert Florys, Water-bailiff and Receiver of Petty-Customs, AD 1427–1430, ed. Studer, P., Southampton Record Society15 (1913)
The Port Book of Southampton 1509–10, ed. James, T. B., 2 vols, Southampton Records Series 32, 33 (1990)
The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the Reign of Edward IV, ed. Quinn, D. B. and Ruddock, A. A., Southampton Record Society 37, 38 (1937–8)
The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London: Documents, ed. Dietz, B., London Record Society 8 (1972)
Rental of all the Houses in Gloucester A.D.1455, ed. Stevenson, W. H. (Gloucester, 1890)
Roll of the Drapers' Company of London: collected from the Company's records and other sources, ed. Boyd, P. (Croydon, 1934)
The Southampton Brokage Book, 1447–8, ed. Harwood, W. A., Wessex Historical Databases 1 (2006)
The Southampton Brokage Book 1447–48, ed. Harwood, W. A., Southampton Records Series 42 (2008)
The Southampton Port and Brokage Books, 1448–1449, ed. Lewis, E. A., Southampton Records Series 36 (1993)
Southampton Probate Inventories 1447–1575, ed. Roberts, E. and Parker, K., Southampton Records Series 35 (1992)
The Southampton Steward's Book of 1492–3 and the Terrier of 1495, ed. Thick, A., Southampton Records Series 38 (1995)
The Southampton Terrier of 1454, ed. Burgess, L. A., Southampton Records Series 15 (1976)
Speed, J., *The History and Antiquity of Southampton, with some conjectures concerning the Roman Clausentum*, ed. Aubrey, E. R., Southampton Record Society 8 (1909)
The Stewards' Books of Southampton, from 1428, ed. Gidden, H. W., 2 vols Southampton Record Society 35, 39 (1935–1939)
The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton 1514–1602, 1, *1514–1540*, ed. Merson, A. L., Southampton Records Series 2 (1952)
The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton 1514–1602, 4, *1590–1602*, ed. James, T. B., Southampton Records Series 22 (1979)
Trade and Prosperity, War and Poverty. An Archaeological and Historical investigation into Southampton's French Quarter, eds. Brown, R. and Hardy, A., Oxford Archaeology Monograph 15 (2011)
Valor Ecclesiasticus, ed. Caley, J. and Hunter, J. C., Record Commission, 6 vols (London, 1810–34)
The View of Hosts, ed. Bradley, H., London Record Society 46 (2012)

Secondary Sources

Archer, I. W., *The History of the Haberdashers' Company* (Chichester 1991)

Ashtor, E., *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton 1983)

Bailey, M, 'Coastal Fishing off South-East Suffolk in the Century after the Black Death', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 37 (1972)

Barron, C. M., 'Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Town House in London 1200–1550', *London Journal*, 20. 1 (1995)

Barron, C. M., 'London, 1300–1540' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, I, ed. D. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000).

Barron, C. M., *London in the Later Middle Ages. Government and People 1200–1500* (Oxford, 2004)

Barsook, E., 'The Travels of Bernardo Michelozzi and Bonsignore Bonsignori in the Levant (1497–8)', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973)

Bates, A., 'Animal and Bird Bone' in *Trade and Prosperity*, ed. Brown

Beaven, A. P., *The Aldermen of the City of London: Temp. Henry III – 1912* (1908)

Benedictow, O. J., *What Disease was Plague?* (Leiden: Brepols, 2011)

Bennett, J. M., *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600* (Oxford 1996)

Benson, R. and Hatcher, H., 'Old and New Sarum or Salisbury', in *History of Modern Wiltshire*, ed. R. C. Hoare, vi (London 1843)

Beresford, M., 'The Six New Towns of the Bishops of Winchester, 1200–55', *Medieval Archaeology* 3 (1959)

Betterton, A., and Dymond, D., *Lavenham: Industrial Town*, (Lavenham, 1989)

Blanchard, I. W. S., 'Lead mining and smelting in medieval England and Wales', *Medieval Industry*, ed. Crossley, D. W. (London 1981)

Bolton, J. L., 'The City and the Crown, 1456–61', *London Journal*, 12 (1986)

Bradford, E., *The Story of the Mary Rose*, (London, 1982).

Bradley, H., 'The Datini Factors in London, 1380–1410', in *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History*, ed. Clayton, D. J., Davies, R. G., and McNiven, P. (Stroud 1994)

Bratchel, E., 'Regulation and Group-Consciousness in the Later History of London's Italian Merchant Colonies', *Journal of European Economic History* 9 (1980)

Brayshay, M., 'The Royal Post-Horse Routes of Hampshire in the Reign of Elizabeth I', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 48 (1992)

Brett, C. J., 'Thomas Kytson and Somerset Clothmen, 1529–1539', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* cxliii (1999), 29–56

Brett, C. J., 'Thomas Kytson and Wiltshire Clothmen', *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* xcvii (2004), 35–62

Bridbury, A. R., *Economic growth: England in the later Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (London 1975)

Bridbury, A. R., *Medieval English Clothmaking: An Economic Survey* (London 1982)

Bridbury, A.R., 'English Provincial Towns in the Later Middle Ages, *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. xxxiv (1981)

Britnell, R. H., '*Avantagium Mercatoris*. A Custom in Medieval English Trade', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 24 (1980)

Britnell, R. H., *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000–* 1500 (Manchester, 1996)

Britnell, R. H. and Campbell, B. M. S., *A Commercialising Economy. England 1086 to c. 1300* (Manchester, 1995)

Britnell, R. H., *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300–1525* (Cambridge 1986)

Brown, A. D., *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England. The Diocese of Salisbury 1200–1550* (Oxford, 1995)

Brown, D. H., 'Iberian Pottery Excavated in Medieval Southampton' in *Spanish Ceramics*,

ed. Gerrard
Burbridge, B., (ed.), *The History of Romsey* (Romsey, 2000)
Campbell, B. M. S., *et al. A Medieval Capital and its Grain Supply. Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region*, c. *1300* (London, 1993)
Campbell, B. M. S. and Bartley, K., *England on the Eve of Black Death. An Atlas of Lay Lordship and Wealth 1300–1549* (Manchester, 2006)
Carr, D. R., 'The Problem of the Urban Patriciates: Office Holders in Fifteenth Century Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* lxxxiii (1990)
Carus-Wilson, E. M. and Coleman, O., *England's Export Trade 1275–1547* (Oxford 1963)
Carus-Wilson, E. M., 'La Guéde Française en Angleterre: un grand commerce du moyen age', *Revue du Nord* 35 (1953), 85–105
Carus-Wilson, E. M., 'The Woollen Industry before 1550', in *Victoria History of the County of Wiltshire* 4 (1959)
Carus-Wilson, E. M., *Medieval Merchant Venturers: Collected Studies* (2nd edn. London, 1967)
Chartres, J. A., *Internal Trade in England, 1500–1700* (Basingstoke, 1977)
Childs, W. R., *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Age*s (Manchester, 1978)
Childs, W. R., 'Anglo-Italian Contacts in the Fourteenth Century', *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*, ed. Boitani, P. (Cambridge 1983)
Childs W. R., 'Anglo-Portuguese Trade in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th ser. 2 (1992),
Childs, W. R., 'Anglo-Spanish Trade in the Later Middle Ages (Twelfth to Sixteenth centuries)' in *Spanish Ceramics*, ed. Gerrard
Childs, W. R., 'The Commercial Shipping of South-western England in the Later Fifteenth Century', *Mariners Mirror* 83.3 (1997),
Childs, W. R., 'England's Iron Trade in the Fifteenth Century, *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser.34 (1981)
Claridge, J. and Langdon, J., 'Storage in Medieval England: The Evidence from the Purveyance Accounts', *EcHR* forthcoming
Clarke, P. C., 'The Commercial Activities of Giovanni Marcanova di Giacomo', in *Cittadini Veneziani del Quattrocento: i due Giovanni Marcanova, ilmercante e l'umanista*, ed. Barile, E., Clarke, P. C. and Nordio, G. (Venice 2006)
Cobb, H. S., 'Cloth Exports from London and Southampton in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: a Revision', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 31 (1978)
Coleman, O., 'Trade and Prosperity in the Fifteenth Century: Some Aspects of the Trade of Southampton', *Economic History Review*, new ser.16 (1963)
Davies, J. S., *A History of Southampton* (Southampton, 1883).
Davies, M. and Saunders, A., *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (Leeds 2004)
Davis, J., *Medieval Market Morality: Life, Law and Ethics in the Medieval Marketplace 1200–1500* (Cambridge, 2012)
De Roover, R., *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges* (Cambridge, Mass. 1948)
De Roover, R., *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank 1397–1494* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963)
De Roover, R., *The Medici Bank: Its Organization, Management, Operations, and Decline* (New York, 1948)
Dodds, B., *Peasants and Peasant Production in the Medieval North-West: The Evidence from Tithes 1270–1536* (Woodbridge, 2007)
Duxbury, S., 'The Bonds of Trade: The Port of Southampton and the Merchants of Winchester and Salisbury', *The Ties that Bind. Essays in Honor of Barbara Hanawalt*, ed. Mitchell, L. D. E., French, K. L. and Biggs, D. L. (Farnham, 2011)
Dyer, A. A., 'Ranking Lists of English Medieval Towns', *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. Palliser, D. (Cambridge, 2000)
Dyer, C., 'The Consumer and the Market', *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London,

1994)
Dyer, C., *A Country Merchant 1495–1520* (Oxford, 2012)
Dyer, C., *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages. Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge, 1989)
Epstein, S. R., 'Regional Fairs, Institutional Innovation, and Economic Growth in Late Medieval Europe', *Economic History Review* 47.3 (1994)
Everitt, A., 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', *Agrarian History of England*, iv, *1500–1640*, ed. Thirsk, J. (Cambridge, 1967)
Everitt, A., 'The English Urban Inn', *Perspectives on English Urban History*, ed, Everitt, A. (London, 1973)
Farmer, D. L., 'Marketing the Produce of the Countryside, 1200–1500', *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iii, *1348–1500*, ed. Miller, E. (Cambridge, 1991),
Fennell, E. A., *Figures in Proportion: Art, Science and the Business Renaissance*, booklet for 1994 exhibition on 'The Contribution of Luca Pacioli to Culture and Commerce in the High Renaissance' (London, 1994).
Fryde, E. B., *Studies in Medieval Trade and Finance* (London 1983)
Fryde, E. B., *Peasants and Landlords in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, 1996),
Galloway, J. A. (ed), *Trade, Urban Hinterlands, and Market Integration c. 1300–1600*, Centre for Metropolitan Studies Working Papers Series 3 (London 2000)
Galloway, J. A., Keene, D. and Murphy, M., 'Fuelling the City: Production and Distribution of Firewood and Fuel in London's Region, 1290–1400', 2nd ser. 49 (1996)
Galloway, J., Keene, D. and Murphy, M., *A Medieval Capital and its Grain Supply. Agrarian Production and Distributionin the London Region, c. 1300* (London, 1993)
Goddard, R., *Commercial Contraction and Urban Decline in Fifteenth-Century Coventry*, Dugdale Society Occasional Paper 46 (2006)
Gray, H. L., 'The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century', *English Historical Review* xxxix (1924)
Gerrard, Christopher M., Gutiérrez, Alejandra and Vince, Alan G. (ed.), *Spanish Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*, BAR International Series 610 (1995)
Giuseppi, M. S., 'Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal History Society*, new ser. ix (1895), 75–98
Harding, V. A., 'Some Documentary Sources for the Import and Distribution of Foreign Textiles in Later Medieval England,' *Textile History* 18. 2 (1987)
Harding, V. A., 'Cross-Channel Trade and Cultural Contacts: London and the Low Countries in the Later Fourteenth Century', *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Barron, C. M. and Saul, N. (Stroud, 1995)
Hare, J. N., 'Bishop's Waltham Palace, Hampshire: William of Wykeham, Henry Beaufort and the Transformation of a Medieval Episcopal Palace', *Archaeological. Journal*, 145 (1988)
Hare, J. N., 'Church Building and Urban Prosperity on the Eve of the Reformation: Basingstoke and its Parish Church', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 62 (2007)
Hare, J. N., *The Dissolution of the Monasteries in Hampshire*, Hampshire Paper 30 (1999)
Hare, J. N., 'Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England, 1350–1600', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013)
Hare, J. N., 'Pensford and the Growth of the Cloth Industry in Late Medieval Somerset', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 147 (2003)
Hare, J. N., '*A Prospering Society*'. *Wiltshire in the Later Middle Ages* (Hatfield, 2011)
Hare, J. N., 'Regional Prosperity in Fifteenth-Century England: Some Evidence from Wessex', *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Woodbridge 2001),
Hare, J. N., 'Salisbury: The Economy of Fifteenth-Century Provincial Capital', *Southern History* 31 (2009)

Hare, J. N., 'The Wiltshire Rising of 1450: Political and Economic Discontent in Mid-Fifteenth Century England', *Southern History* 4 (1982)
Hare, J. N., 'Winchester College and the Angel Inn, Andover: a Fifteenth-Century Landlord and its Investments', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 60 (2005)
Harrison, D., *The Bridges of Medieval England* (Oxford, 2004)
Harwood, W. A., 'The Customs System in Southampton in the Mid-Fifteenth Century', *Hampshire Studies. Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 53 (1998)
Harwood, W. A., 'The Impact of St. Swithun's Priory on the City of Winchester in the Later Middle Ages', *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2001)
Harwood, W. A., 'Trade and Consumption Patterns in Central Southern England. The Supply of Iron and Wax to Winchester College *c*. 1400–1560', *Southern History* 29 (2008)
Harwood, W. A., 'The Trade of Southampton 1448–9', *Hampshire Studies. Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 55 (2000)
Hatcher, J., 'The Great Slump of the Mid-Fifteenth Century', in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England*, ed. Britnell, R. and Hatcher, J. (Cambridge, 1996)
Hatcher, J., *English Tin Production and Trade Before 1550* (Oxford 1973)
Hatcher, J., *The History of the British Coal Industry*, I, *Before 1700. Towards the Age of Coal* (Oxford, 1993)
Hayward, M., *Rich Apparel: Clothing and Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham 2009)
Heaton, H., *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries* (Oxford 1920)
Hinton, D. A., *Archaeology, Economy and Society. England from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1990).
Hocquet, J. C., 'Ships, Sailors and Maritime Activity in Constantinople (1436–1440)', *Journal of European Economic History*, 30.3 (2001)
Holford, M., '"Thrifty Men of the Country"? The Jurors and their Role', *The Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions post Mortem: A Companion*, ed. Hicks, M. (Woodbridge, 2012)
Holmes, G. A., 'Florentine Merchants in England, 1346–1436', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser.13 (1960)
Holmes, G. A., 'Anglo-Florentine Trade in 1451', *English Historical Review* cviii (1993)
Holmes, G. A., 'The Libel of English Policy', *English Historical Review* lxxvi (1961)
Homer, R. F., 'Tin, Lead and Pewter', *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. Blair, J. and Ramsay, N. (London, 1991)
Hoskins, W. G., *Provincial England* (London, 1965)
Hulton, M. H. M., *Company and Fellowship. The Medieval Weavers of Coventry*, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers 31 (1987)
Hulton, M. H. M., *Coventry and its people in the 1420s*, Dugdale Society 38 (1999)
James, M. K., *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*; ed. Veale, E. M. (Oxford, 1971)
James, T. B., *The Black Death in Hampshire*, Hampshire Paper 18 (1998)
James, T. B., 'Migration and the Southampton Melting Pot in the Fifteenth Century', *Southern History* 28 (2006)
James, T. B., 'Southampton and Spain in the Sixteenth Century to the 1588 Armada: a Sample of Sources for Ceramic Study' in *Spanish Ceramics*, ed. Gerrard
James, T. B., *Southampton Sources, 1086–1900*, Southampton Records Series 26 (1983)
James, T. B. 'The Population Size of Winchester over 2,000 Years: A Survey', Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society, *Section Newsletters*, 9 (1988)
James, T. B. and Price, N. A., 'Measurement of the Change in Populations through time: Capture-Recapture Analysis of the Population of St Lawrence Parish, Southampton 1454–1610', *Journal of European Economic History* 5.3 (1976)
James, T. B. and Roberts, E., 'Winchester and Late-Medieval Urban Development: From Palace to Pentice', *Medieval Archaeology* 44 (2000)

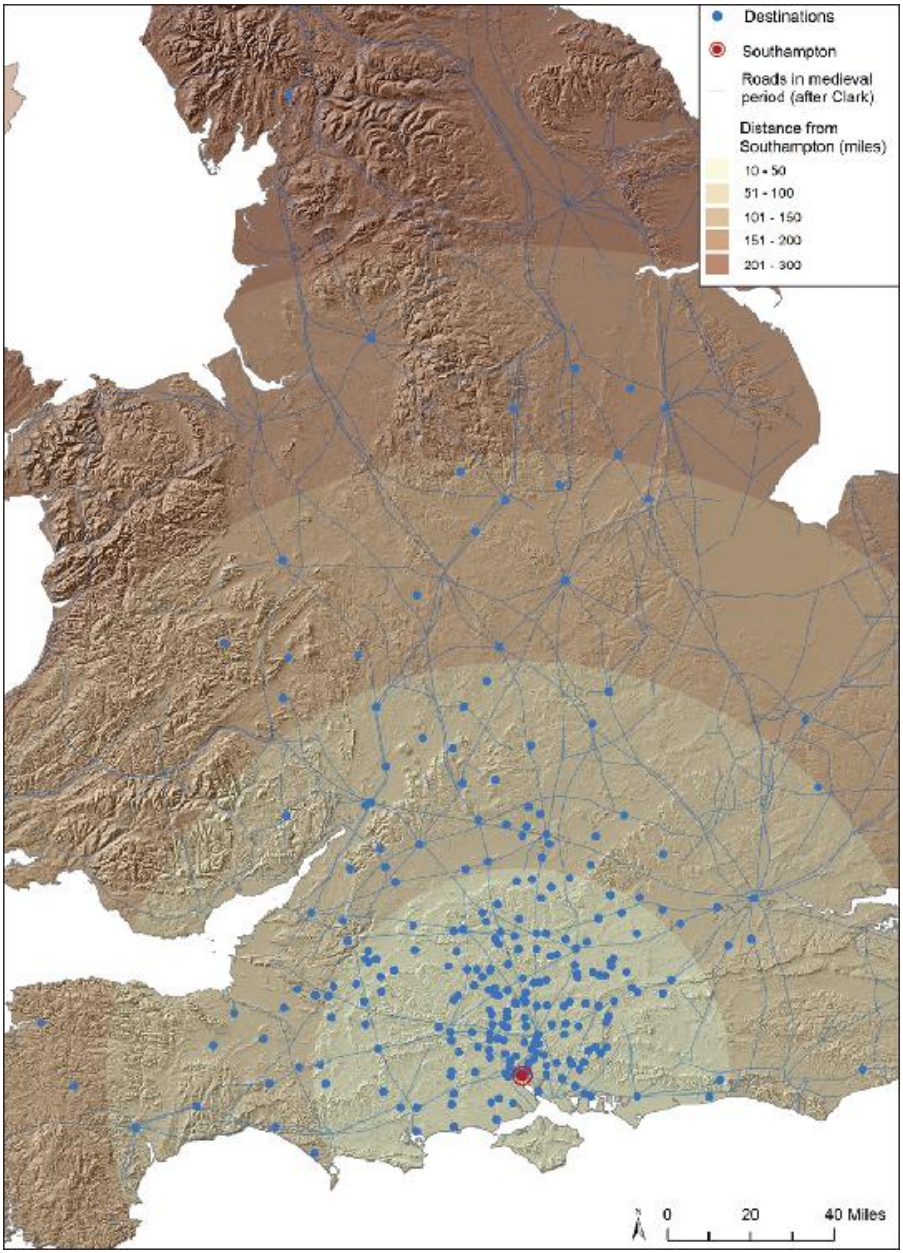
Jones, B. C., 'Westmorland Pack-Horse Men in Southampton', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, New Series 59 (1960).
Keene, D., 'Changes in London's Economic Hinterland as indicated by Debt Cases in the Court of Common Pleas', in *Trade, Urban Hinterlands*, ed. Galloway
Keene, D., *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1985)
Kowaleski, M., *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995)
Kowaleski, M., 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 53 (2000)
Lane, F. C., *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice, 1418–1449*, John Hopkins University, Studies in History and Political Science, series lxii.1 (1444)
Lane, F. C., 'Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures in the Venetian Republic', *Journal of Economic History* 4 (1944)
Langdon, J., *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation. The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066 to 1500* (Cambridge, 1986)
Langdon, J., 'Horse-hauling: a Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England', *Past and Present* 103 (1984)
Laughton, J., Jones, E. and Dyer, C., 'The Urban Hierarchy in the Later Middle Ages: A Case Study from the East Midlands', *Urban History* 28 (2001)
Lee, John S., *Cambridge and its Economic Region 1450–1560* (Hatfield, 2005)
Letters, S., *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*, List and Index Society, sp.s. 32–3 (London, 2003)
Lindley, P., 'The Black Death and English Art: A Debate and Some Assumptions', *The Black Death in England*, ed. Ormrod, M. and Lindley, P. (Donnington, 1996)
Liveing, H. G. D., *Records of Romsey Abbey* (Winchester, 1912)
Lloyd, T. H., *The English Wool Trade in the Middle* Ages (Cambridge, 1977)
Mallett, M. E., *The Florentine Galleys in the Fifteenth Century: with the diary of Luca di Masodegli Albizzi, Captain of the Galleys, 1429–30* (Oxford 1967)
Mallett, M. E., *Mercenaries and their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London 1974)
Martin, G. H., 'Road Travel in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Transport History* ns iii (1976)
Masschaele, J., 'Transport Costs in Medieval England', *Economic History Review*, new ser. 46 (1993)
Masschaele, J., *Peasants, Merchants and Markets. Inland Trade in Medieval England 1150–1350* (Basingstoke, 1997)
Mate, M. E., *Trade and Economic Developments, 1450–1550: The Experience of Kent, Surrey and Sussex* (Woodbridge, 2006),
Merson, A. L., 'Southampton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *A Survey of Southampton and its Region*, ed. Monkhouse, F. J. (Southampton, 1964)
Mirkovich, N., 'Ragusa and the Portuguese Spice Trade', *Slavonic and East European Review*, American Series 2 .1 (1943)
Monkhouse, F. J., (ed.), *A Survey of Southampton and its Region* (Southampton, 1964)
Morgan, J. B. and Peberdy, P. (eds.), *Collected Essays on Southampton* (Southampton, 1968)
Nightingale, P., *A Medieval Mercantile Community: The Grocers' Company and the Politics and Trade of London 1000–1485* (London, 1995)
Page, M., 'The Origins of Towns in Medieval Hampshire. The Case of Alton', *Hampshire Studies. Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 60 (2005)
Pagnini della Ventura, G. F., *Della decima e di varie altre gravezze imposte dal commune di Firenze; della moneta & della mercatura de Fiorentini fino al secolo XV*, (4 vols, Lisbon and Lucca 1765–6)
Palliser, D. (ed), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, I (Cambridge, 2000)
Pelham, R. A., 'Medieval Southampton', *Survey of Southampton and its Region*, in Monkhouse, F. J. (1964)
Phythian-Adams, C., *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle*

Ages (Cambridge 1979)
Platt, C., *Medieval Southampton: the Port and Trading Community, AD 1000–1600*, (London, 1973)
Power, E. and Postan, M. M., *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (2nd edn London, 1953)
Pugh, R. B., *A History of Devizes* (Trowbridge 2001)
Pugh, T. B., *Henry V and the Southampton Plot of 1415*, Southampton Records Series 30 (1987)
Ramsay, G. D., 'Clothworkers, Merchant Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', *English Historical Review* xcii (1977)
Ramsay, G. D., 'The Undoing of the Italian Mercantile Colony in Sixteenth Century London', in *Textile History and Economic History*, ed. Harte, N. B. and Ponting, K. G. (Manchester 1973)
Ramsay, G. D. *The Wiltshire Woollen Industryin the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1943)
Rance, A., *Southampton. An Illustrated History*, (Southampton, 1986)
Renouard, Y., *Bordeaux sous les Rois d'Angleterre* (Bordeaux, 1965)
Roberts, E., 'Alresford Pond, a Medieval Canal Reservoir: A Tradition Reassessed', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 41 (1984), 127–37
Roberts, E., *Hampshire Houses 1250–1700. Their Dating and Development* (Winchester, 2003)
Roberts, E., 'Medieval Alresford revisited', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 43 (1987)
Rose, S., *Southampton and the Navy in the Age of Henry* V, Hampshire Papers 14 (1998)
Rose, S., 'The Port of Southampton in the Fifteenth Century: Shipping and Ship masters', *Hampshire Studies. Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 61 (2006)
Rose, S., *The Wine Trade in Medieval Europe 1000*–1500 (London, 2011)
Ruddock, A. A., 'London Capitalists and the Decline of Southampton in the Early Tudor Period', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series 2 (1949)
Ruddock, A. A., 'Alien Hosting in Southampton in the Fifteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 16 (1946)
Ruddock, A. A., 'Antonio Guidotti', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 15 (1941–3)
Ruddock, A. A., *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270–1600*, Southampton Records Series 1 (1951)
Ruddock, A. A., 'Medieval Merchants and Shipping', *Collected Essays on Southampton*, ed. Morgan, J. B. and Peberdy, P. (Southampton, 1968)
Sacks, D. H., *The Widening Gate, Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450–1700*, (Berkeley, 1993)
Sheail, J., *The Regional Distribution of Wealth in England* (1968)
Sherborne, J. W., *The Port of Bristol in the Middle Ages* (1965)
Slavin, P., *Bread and Ale for the Brethren. The Provisioning of Norwich Cathedral Priory 1260–1536* (Hatfield, 2012)
Stone, D., 'The Consumption of Field Crops in Late Medieval England', *Food in Medieval England. Diet and Nutrition*, ed. Woolgar, C. M., Serjeantson, D. and Waldron, T. (Oxford, 2006)
Stabel, P., 'From the Market to the Shop. Retail and Urban Space in Late Medieval Bruges', *Buyers and Sellers: Retail Circuits and Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Blondé, B., Stabel, P., Stobart, J. and Van Damme, I. (Turnhout, Belgium 2006)
Sutton, A. F., *A Merchant Family of Coventry, London & Calais: The Tates 1450–1575* (London, 1998)
Sutton, A. F., *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130–1578* (Aldershot,

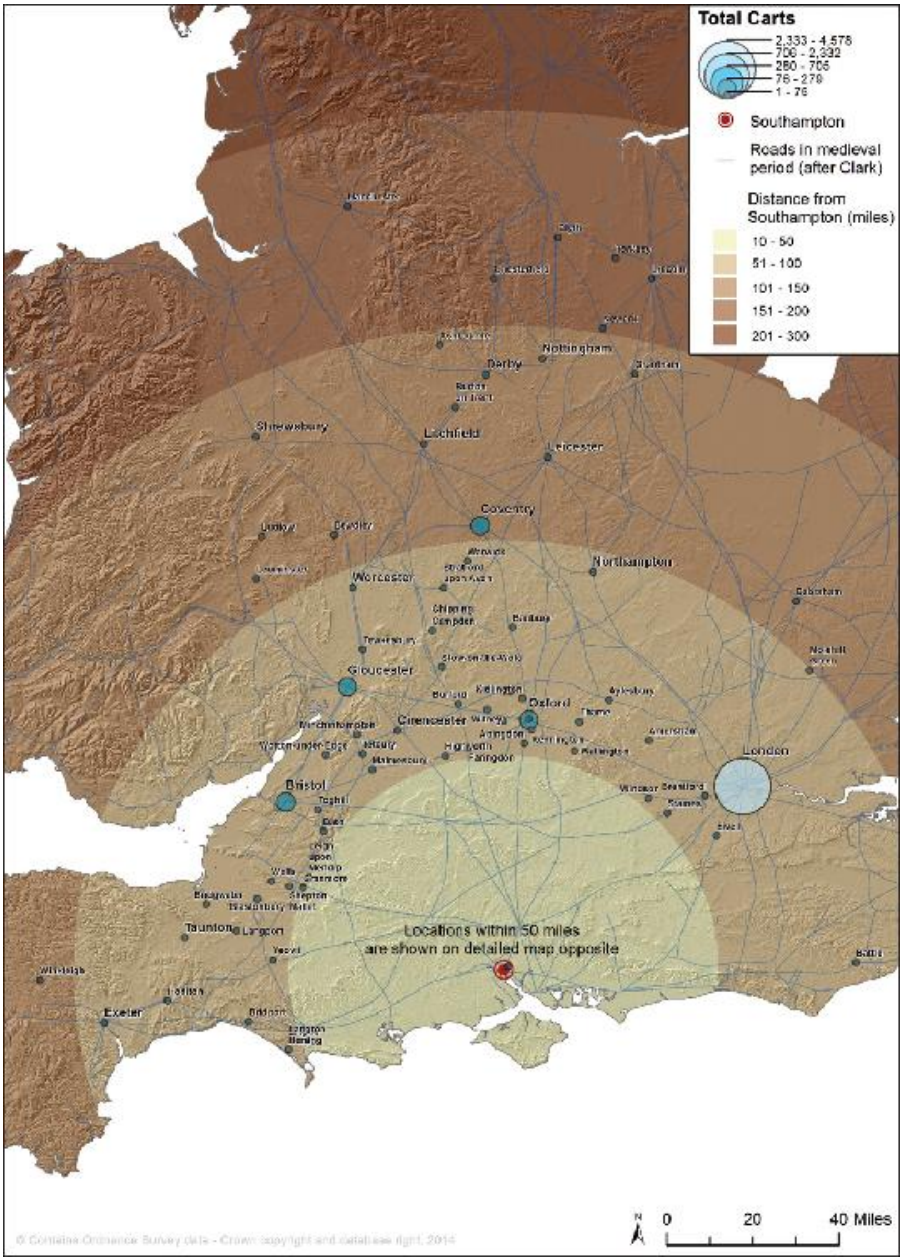
2005)
Tatton-Brown, T., 'The Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* xc (1997)
Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects. The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978)
Threlfall-Holmes, M., 'The Consumption of Durham Cathedral Priory', *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. Hicks, M. (Woodbridge, 2001)
Threlfall-Holmes, M., *Monks and Markets: Durham Cathedral Priory 1460–1520* (Oxford, 2005)
Thrupp, S. L., 'Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century' in *Studies in London History presented to Philip Edmund Jones*, ed. Hollaender, A. E. J. and Kellaway, W. (London 1969)
Unger, R. W., *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 2007)
Unger, R. W., 'The Netherlands Herring Industry in the Late Middle Ages: The False Legend of William Beukels of Biervliet', *Viator* 9 (1978)
Victoria County Histories, *Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire*
Veale, E., *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1966)
Watson, W. B., 'The Structure of the Florentine Galley Trade with Flanders and England in the Fifteenth Century', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 40 (1962)
Willan, T. S., *The Inland Trade* (Manchester, 1976)
Willard, J. F., 'The Use of Carts in the Fourteenth Century', *History* xvii (1932)
Willmott, H., 'Glass', *Trade and Prosperity*, 2011
Wolffe, P., 'English Cloth in Toulouse (1380–1450)', 2nd ser 2 (1950)
Yates, M. N., *Town and Countryside in Western Berkshire*, c. *1327*–c. *1600* (Woodbridge, 2007)

Unpublished Thesis

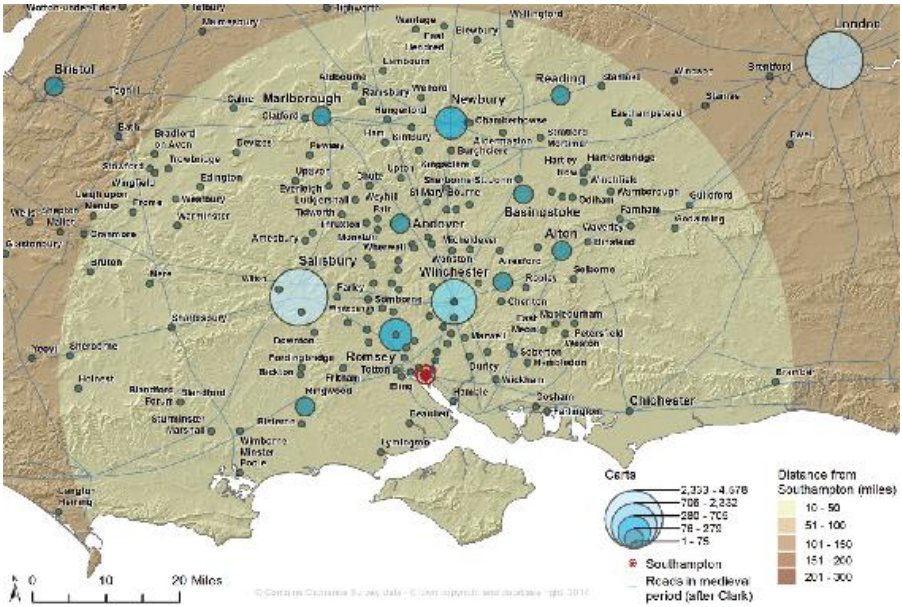
Bolton, J. L., 'Alien Merchants in England in the Reign of Henry VI, 1422–61' (BLitt Oxford 1971)
Bradley, Helen L., 'The Italian Community in London *c*. 1350–*c*. 1450' (PhD London 1992)
Duxbury, S. C., 'The Redistribution of Wine from Southampton in the Fifteenth Century' (PhD Minnesota 1996)
Harwood, W. A., 'The Pattern of Consumption of Winchester College' *c*. 1390–1540 (PhD Southampton, 2003)
James, T. B., 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400–1600' (PhD St Andrews, 1977)
Jones, S., 'Keeping her in the family. Women and Gender in Southampton, *c*. 1400–1600' (PhD Southampton 1997)
Marter, P., 'Medieval Pottery Production Centres in England AD 850–1600' (PhD Southampton, 2005)
Merrick, P. H., 'The Administration of the Ulnage and Subsidy on Woollen Cloth between 1394 and 1485, with a Case Study of Hampshire', MPhil Southampton (1997)
Quinton, E. J. P., 'The Drapers and the Drapery Trade of Late Medieval London, *c*. 1300–*c*. 1500', (PhD London 2001)
Thick, A. E., 'The Fifteenth-Century Steward's Books of Southampton' (PhD Southampton, 1997)



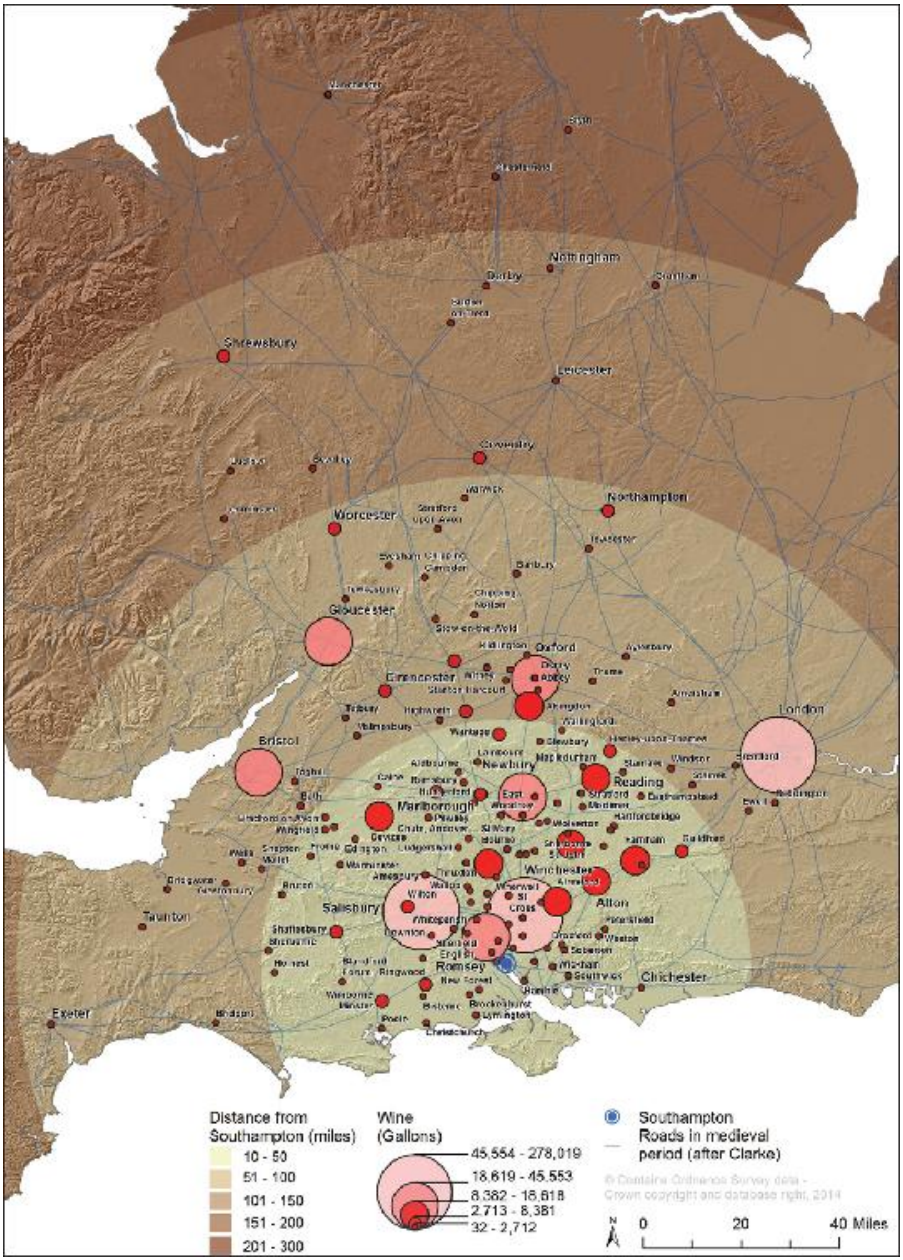
Map 1: Distribution of trade from Southampton (physical).



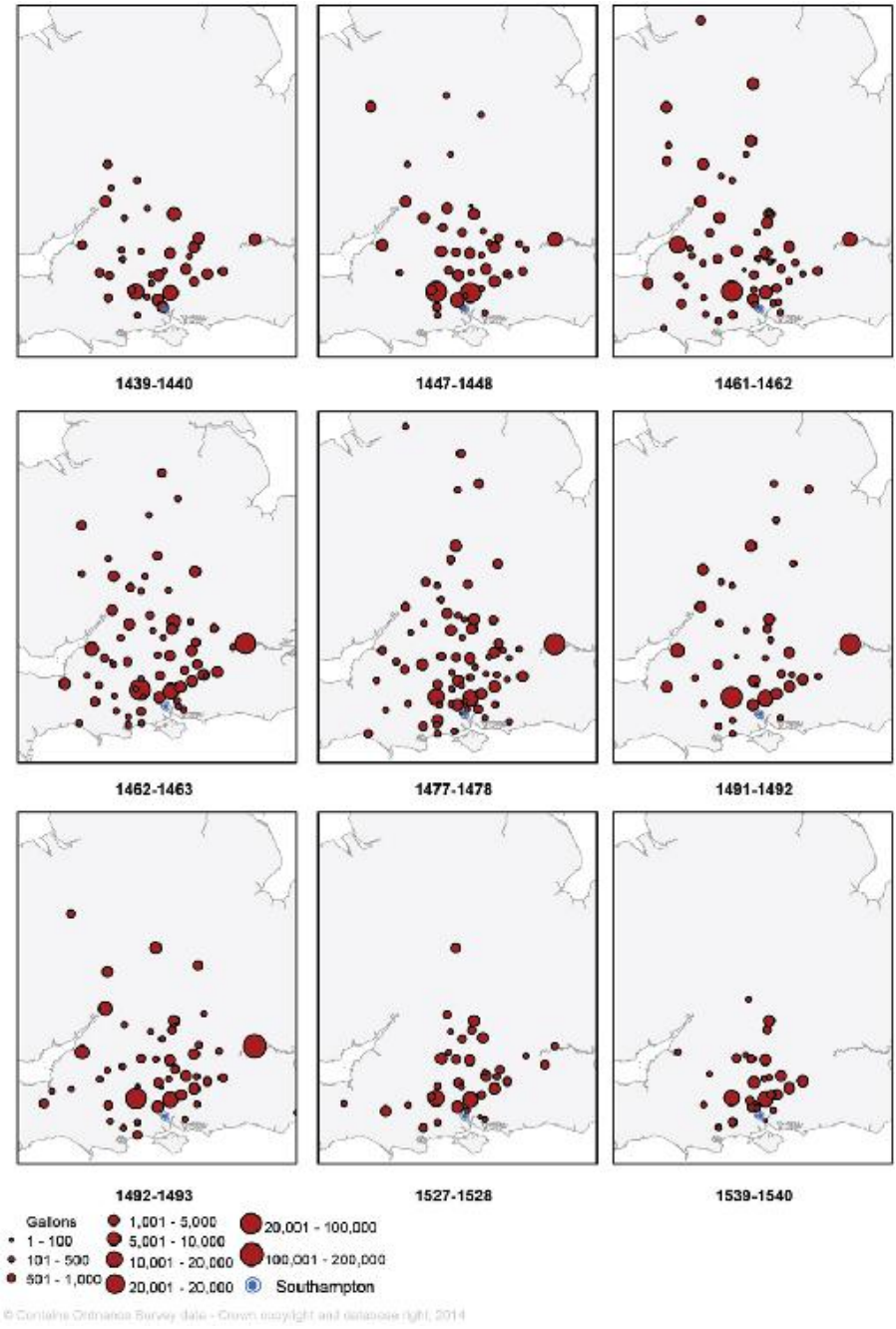
Map 2: Distribution of carts: all available years.



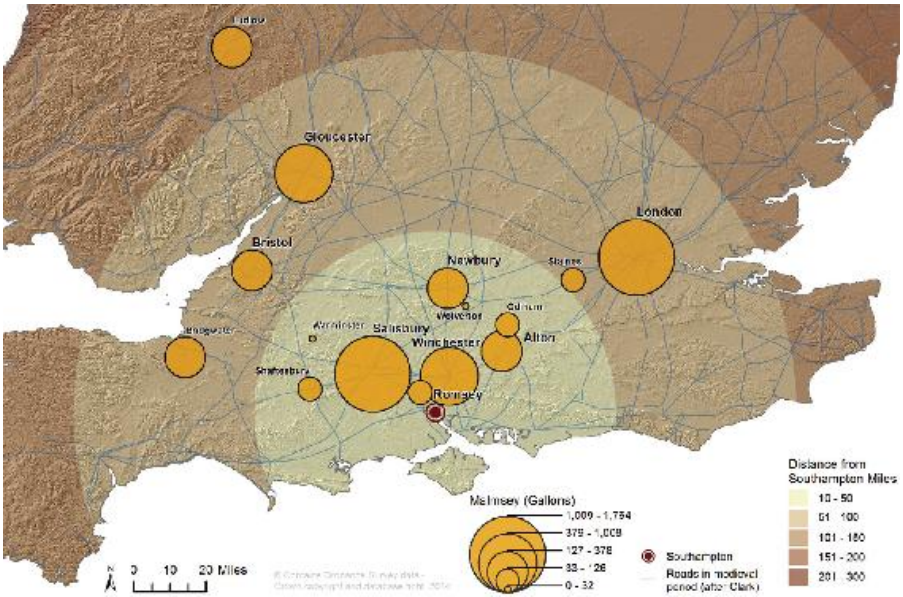
Map 3: Distribution of carts: all available years (central southern England).



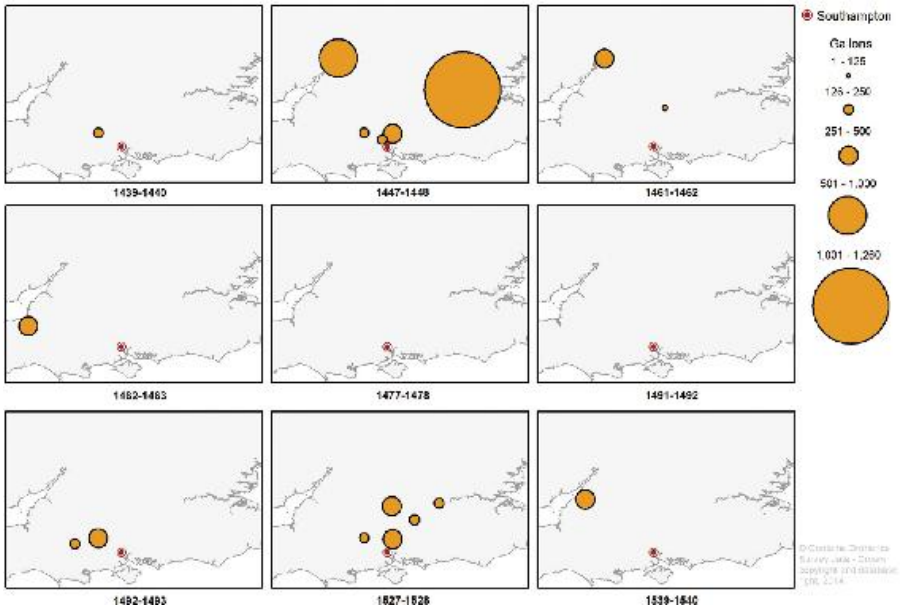
Map 4: Distribution of wine (all wine): all available years (in gallons).



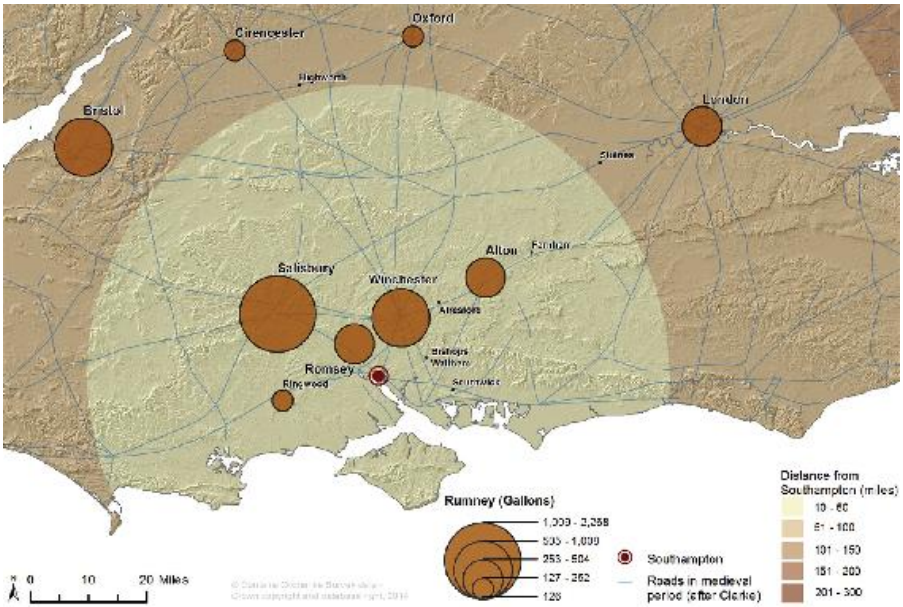
Map 5: Distribution of wine (all wine): by year.



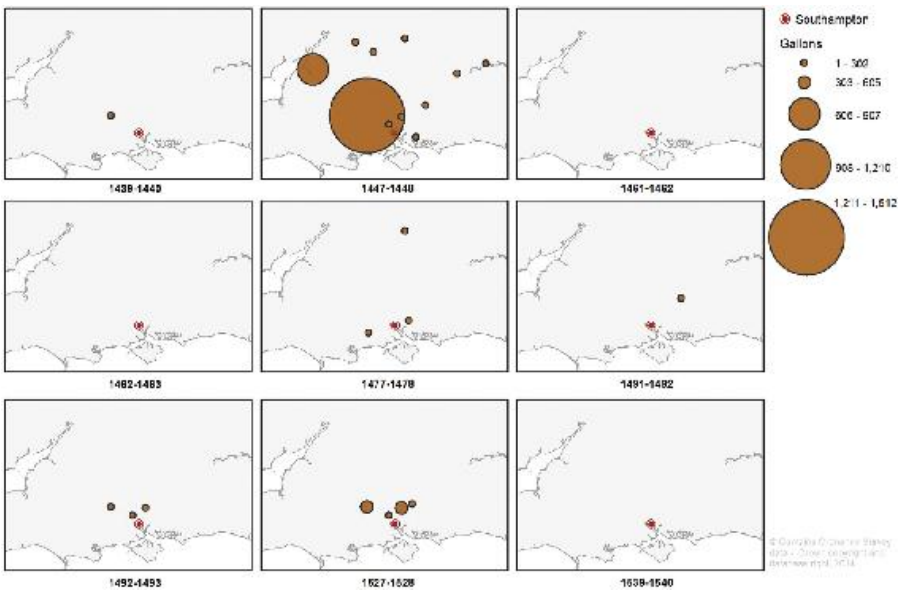
Map 6A: Distribution of malmsey: all available years (in gallons).



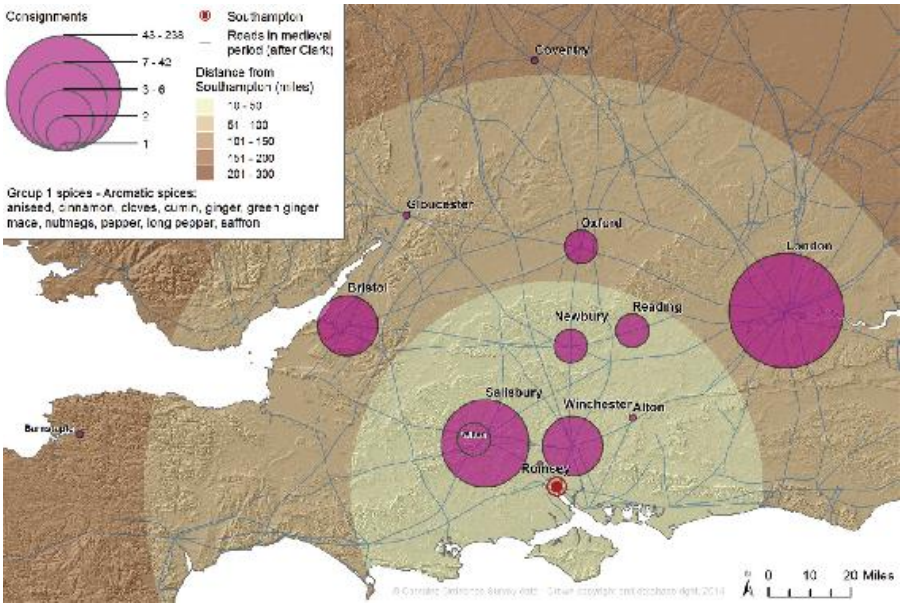
Map 6B: Distribution of malmsey: by year.



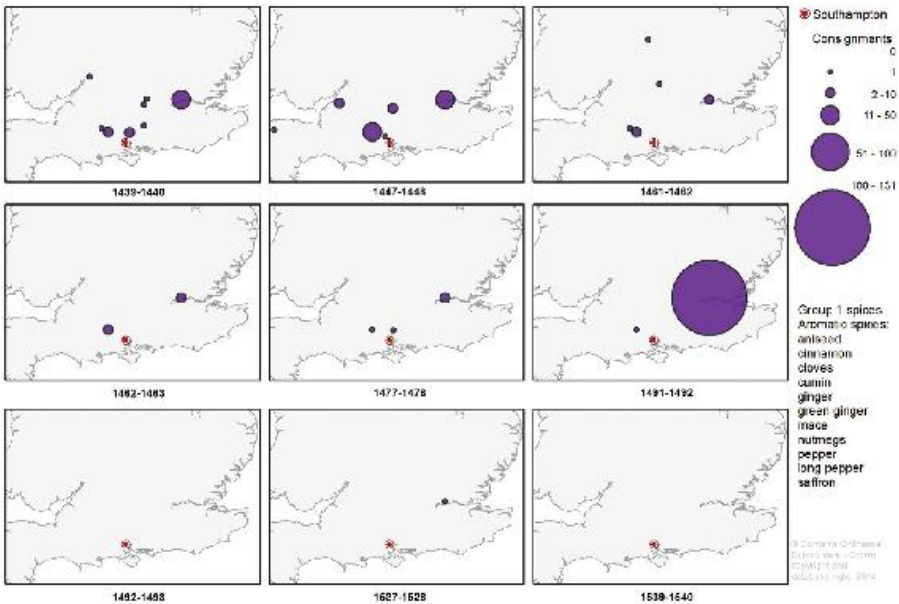
Map 7A: Distribution of rumney: all available years (in gallons).



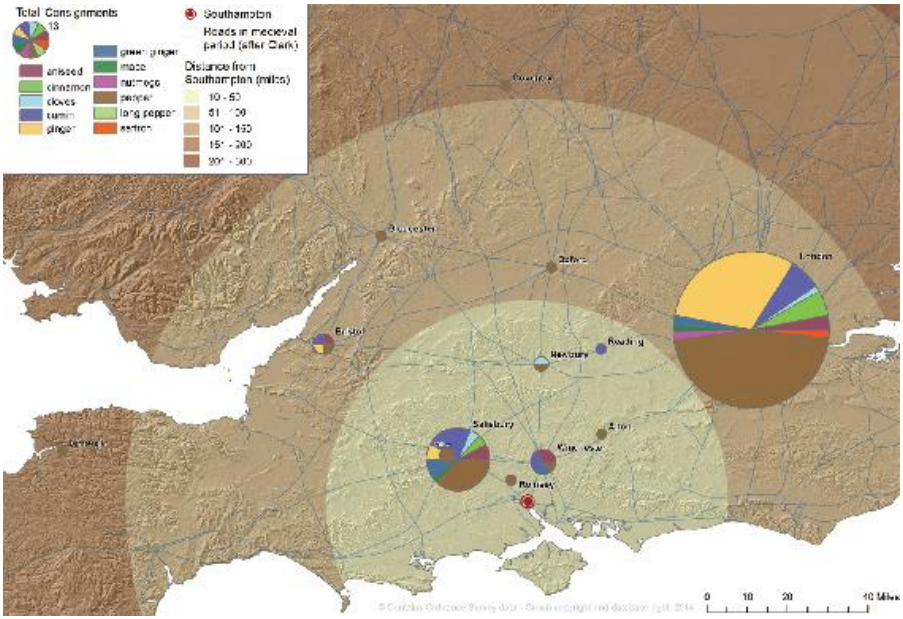
Map 7B: Distribution of rumney: by year.



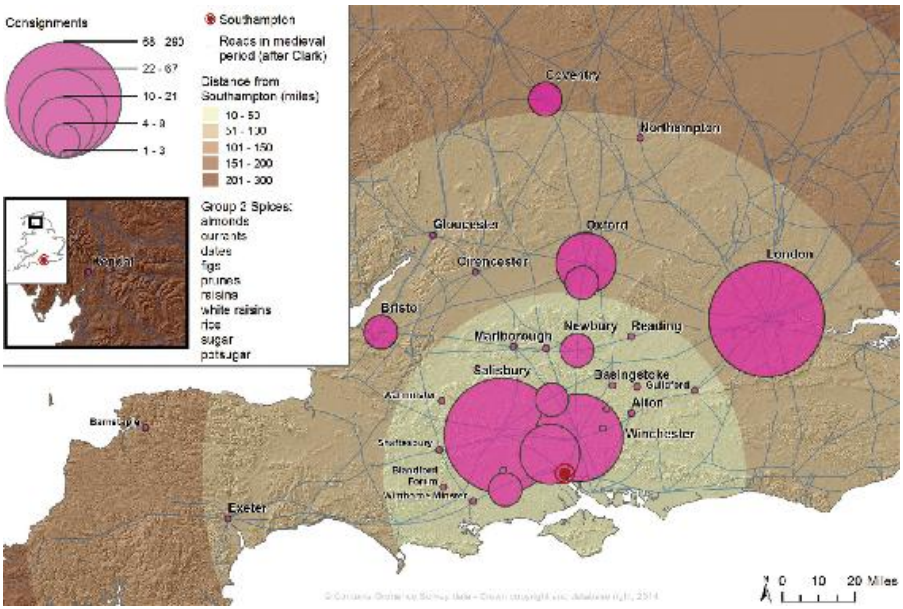
Map 8A: Distribution of spices (group 1 – aromatic): all available years (in consignments).



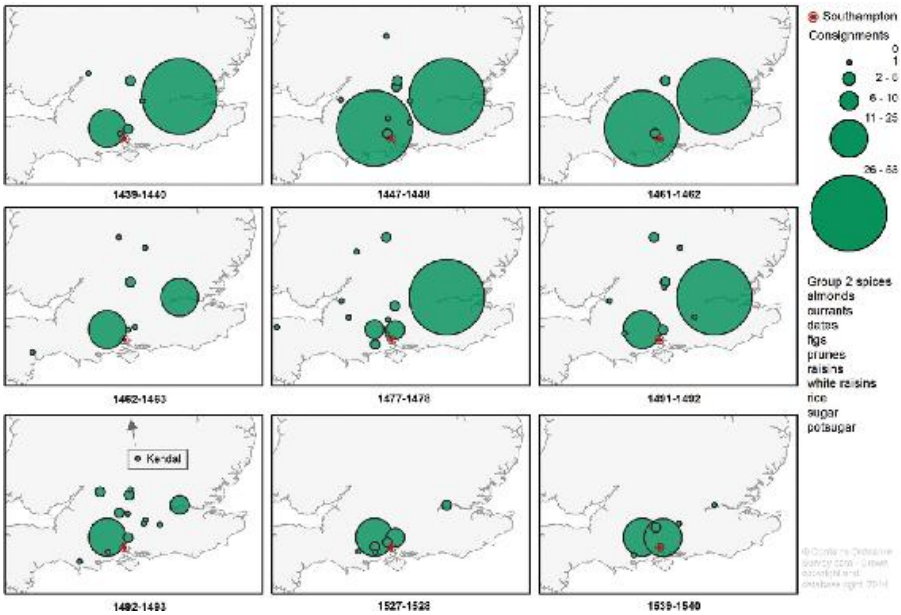
Map 8B: Distribution of spices (group 1 – aromatic): by year.



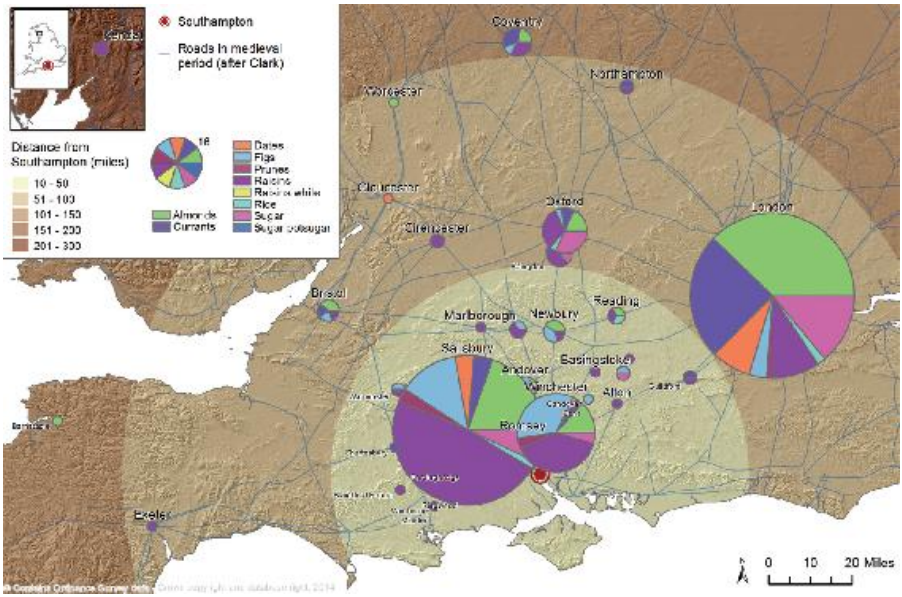
Map 9: Distribution of spices (group 1 – aromatic): pie charts.



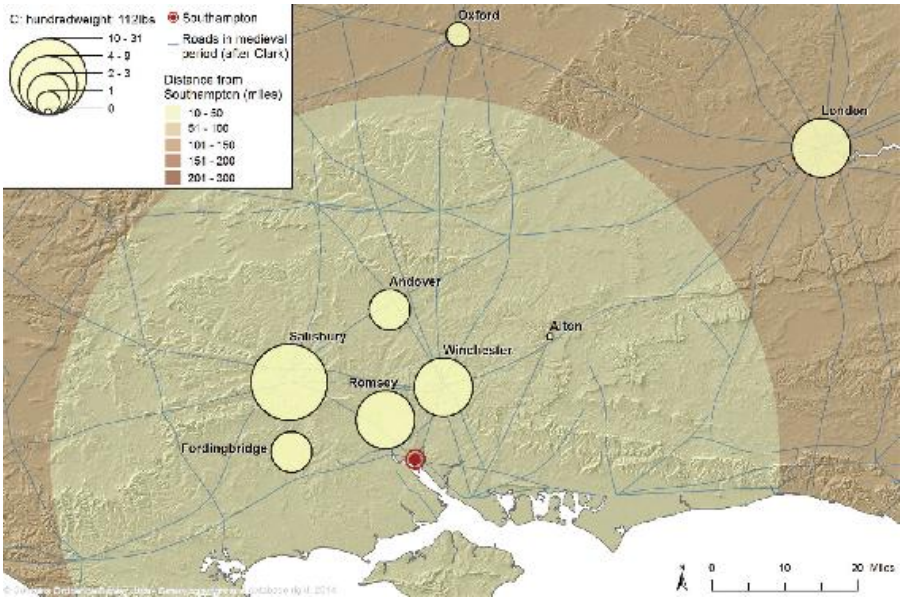
Map 10A: Distribution of spices (group 2): all available years (in consignments).



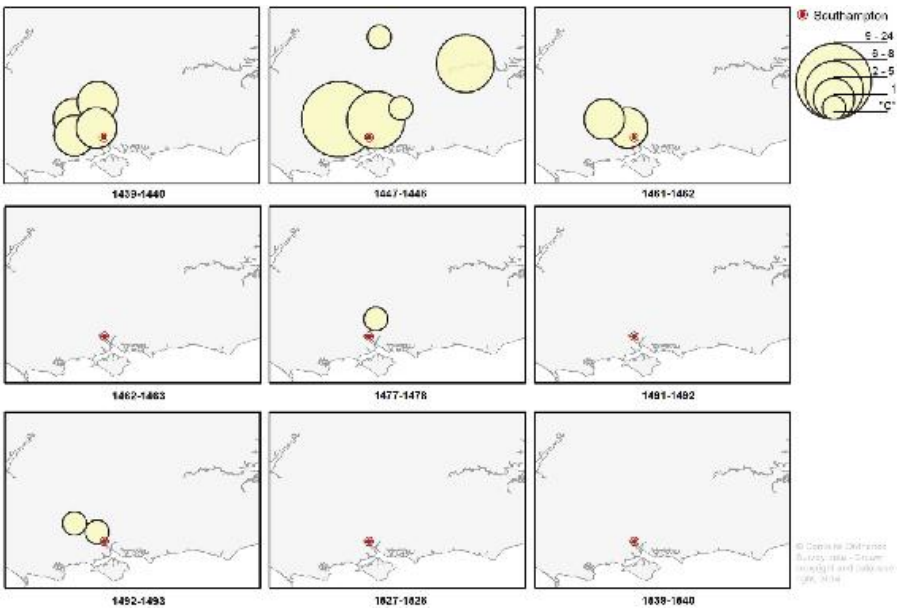
Map 10B: Distribution of spices (group 2): by year.



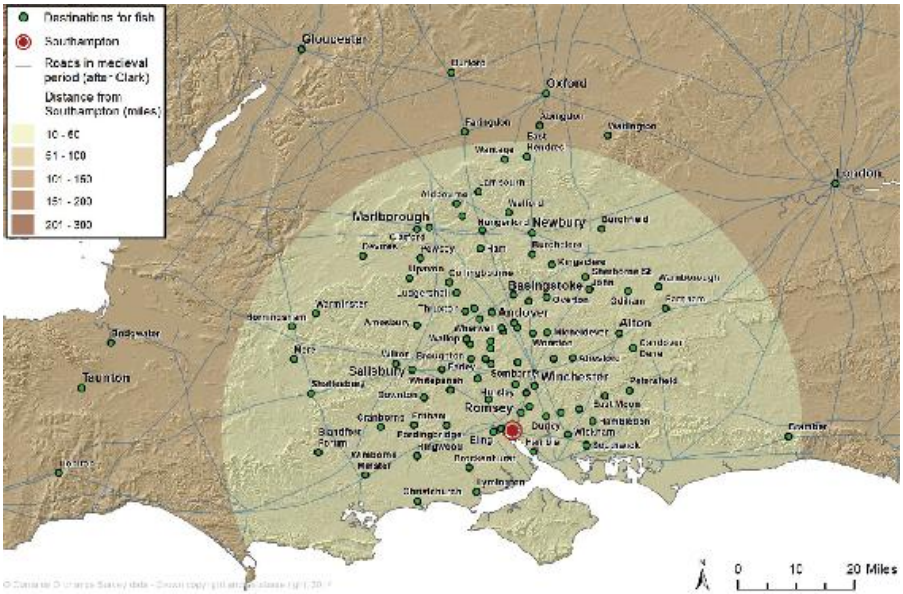
Map 11: Distribution of spices (group 2): pie charts.



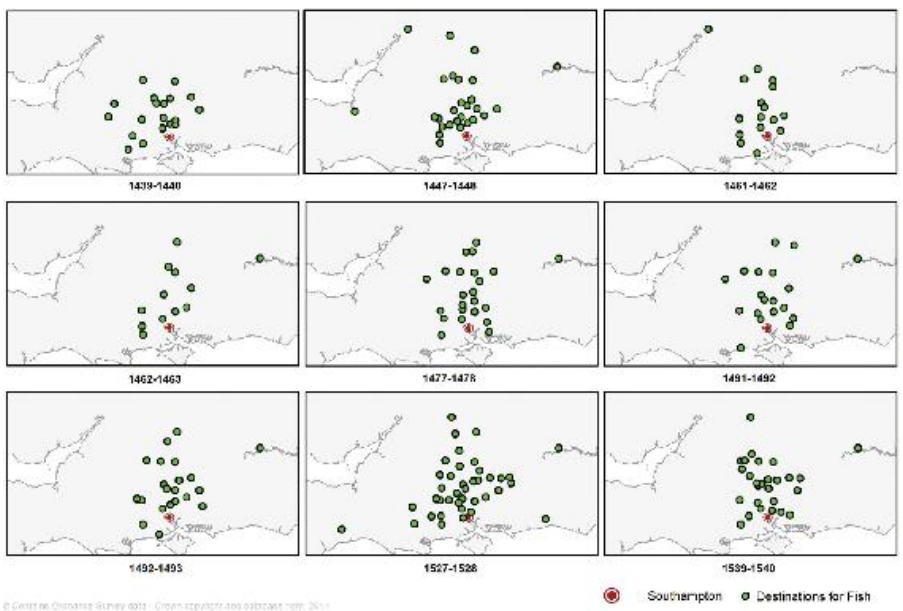
Map 12A: Distribution of wax: all available years (in hundredweights).



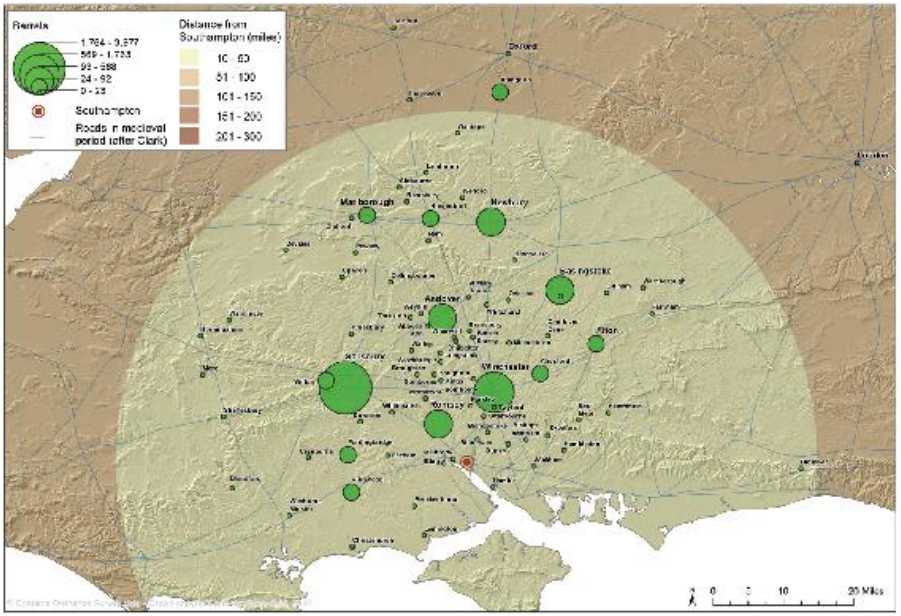
Map 12B: Distribution of wax: by year.



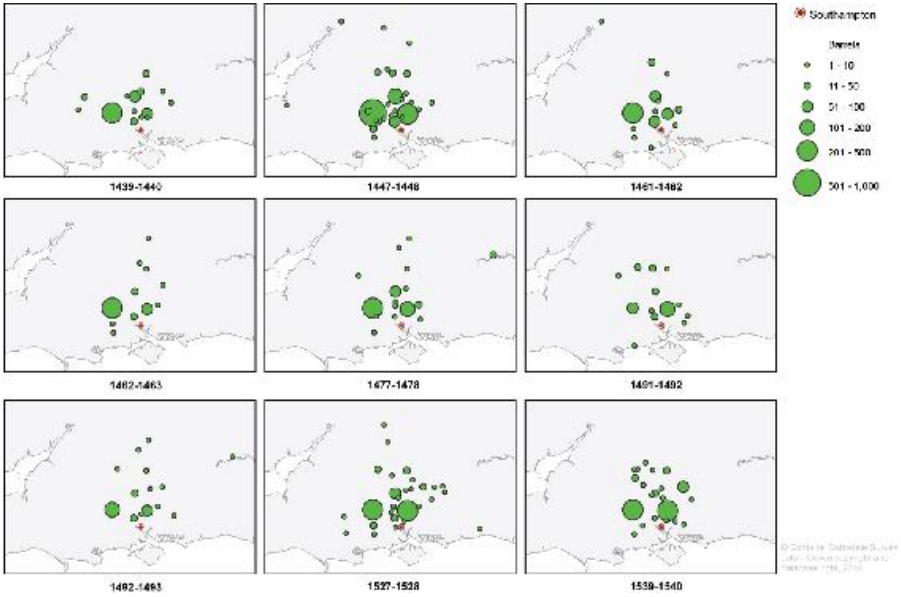
Map 13A: Distribution of fish: all available years (in destinations).



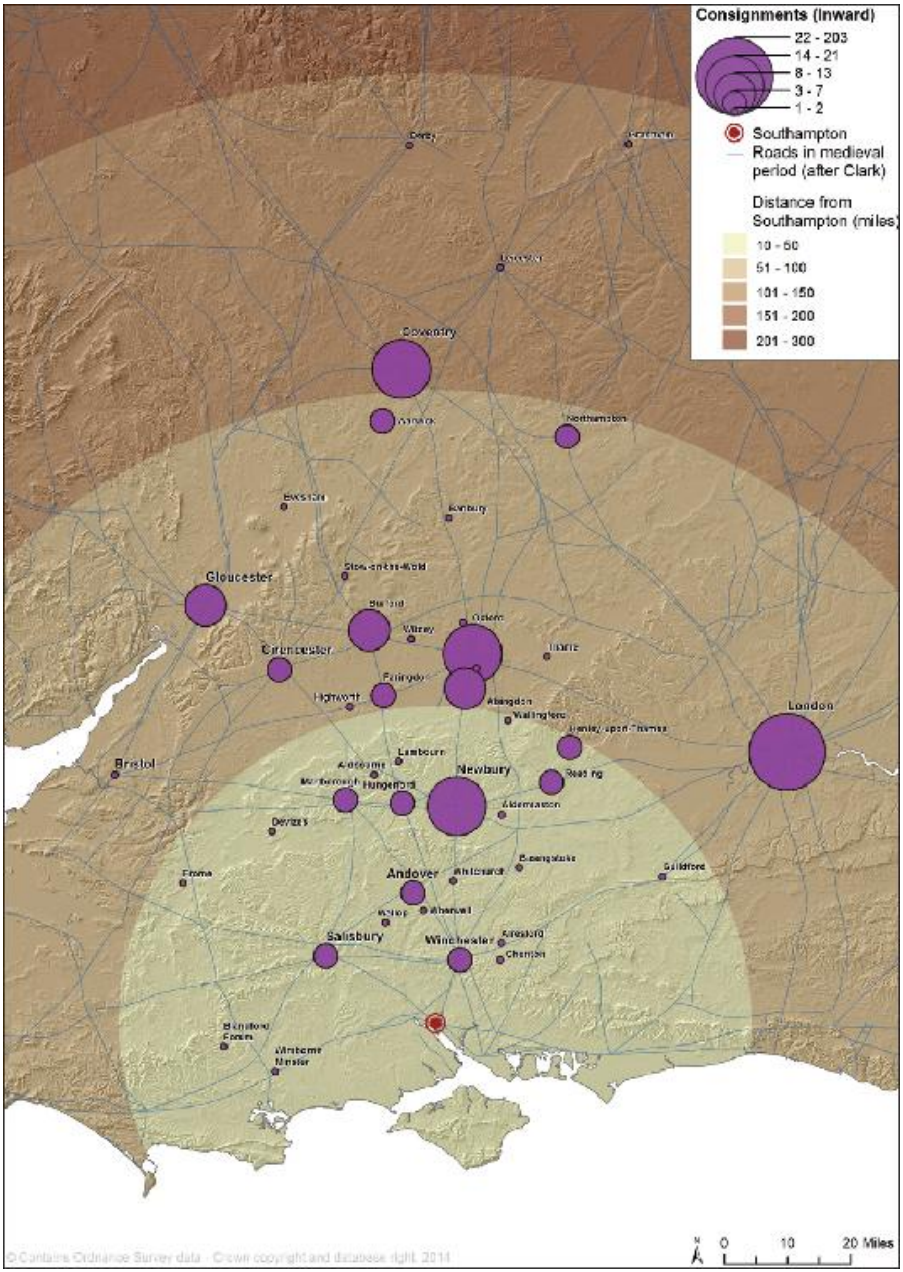
Map 13B: Distribution of fish: by year.



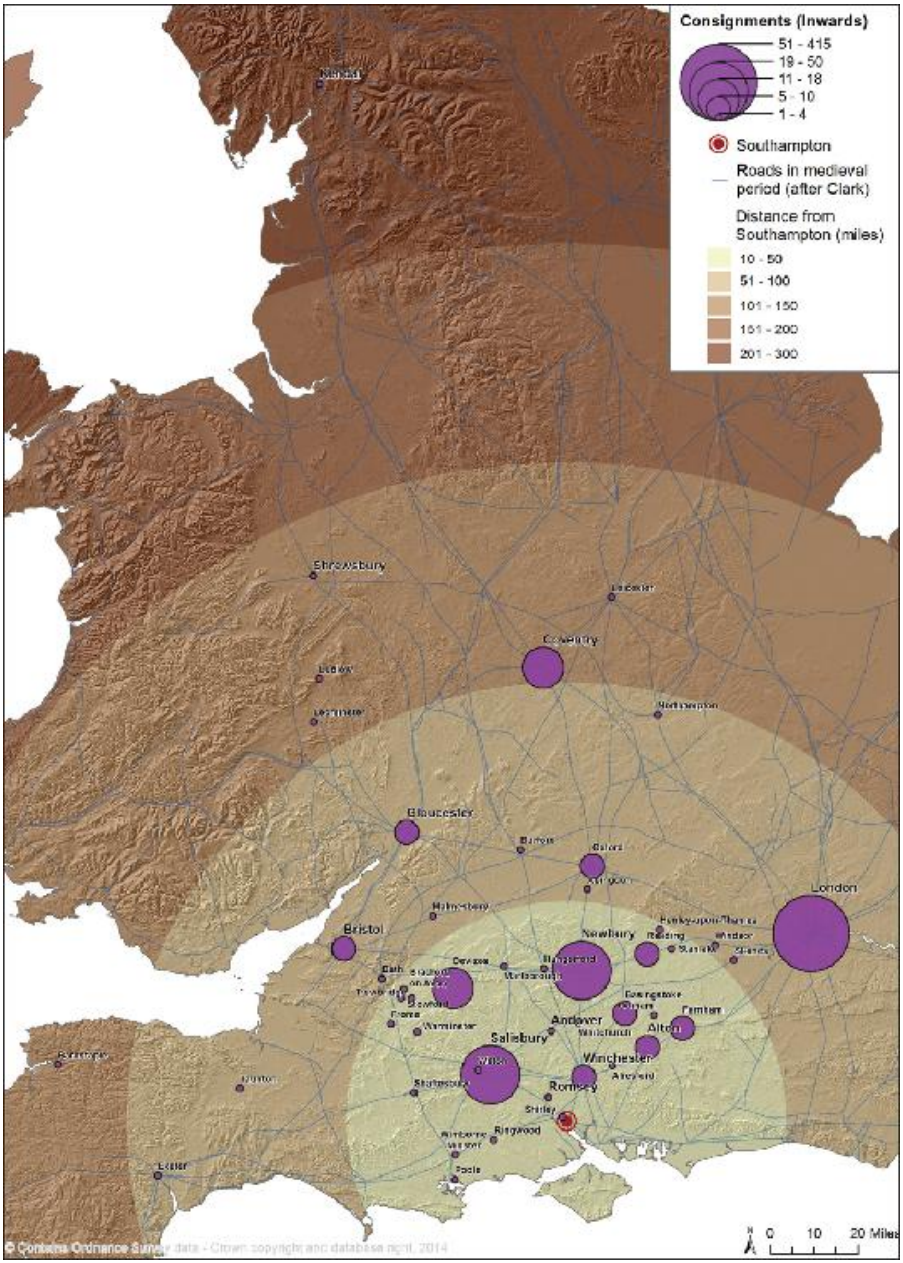
Map 14: Distribution of herring: all available years (in barrels).



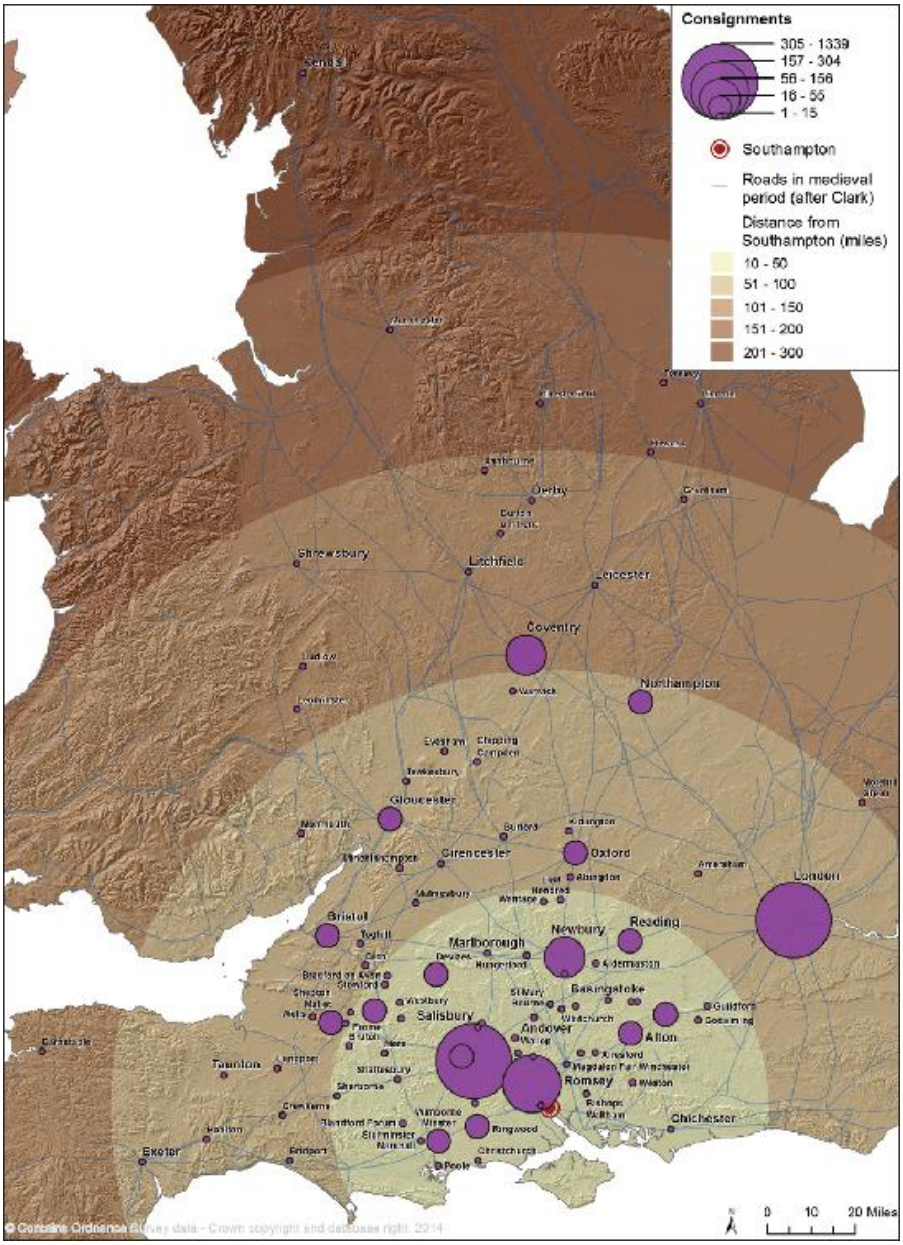
Map 15: Distribution of herring: by year.

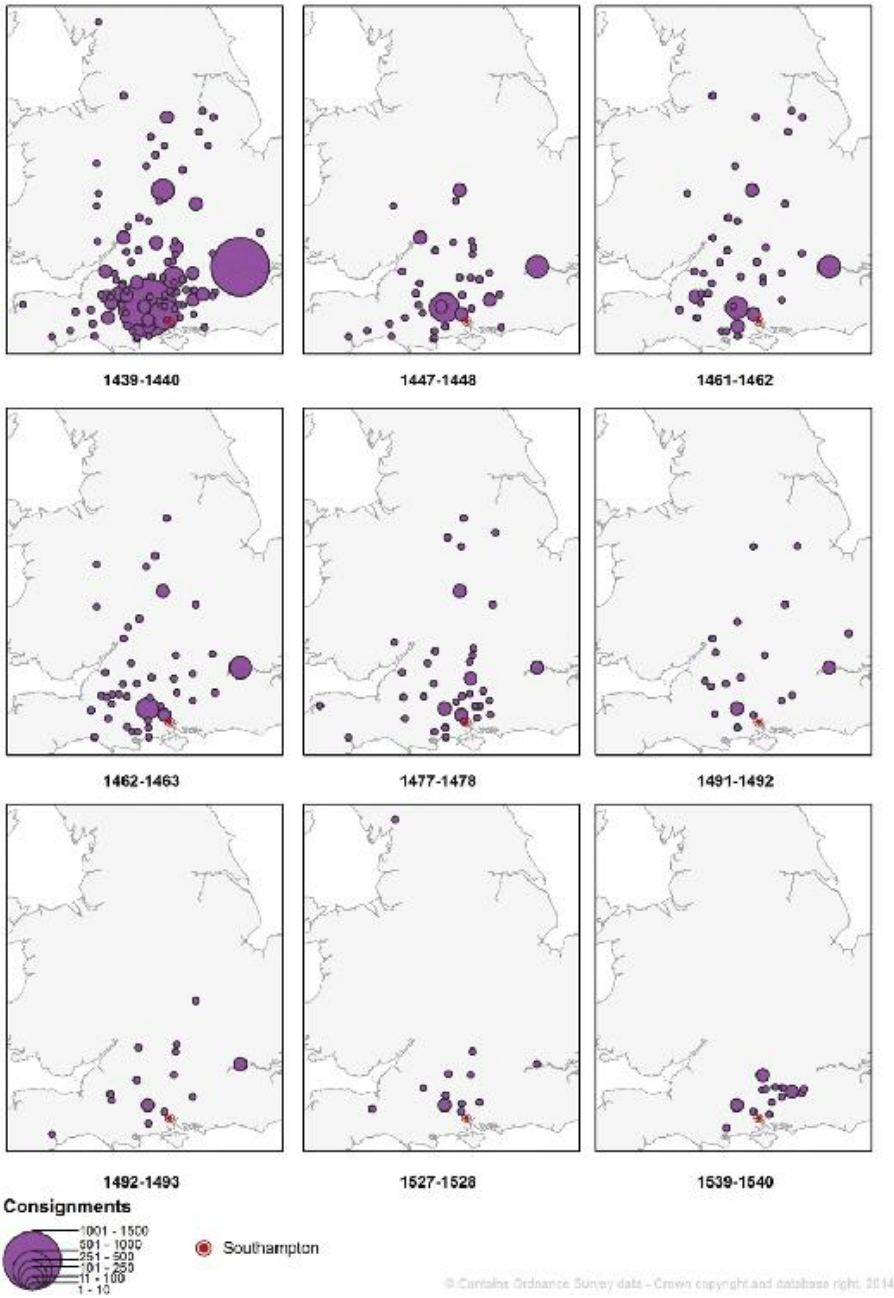


Map 16: Wool into Southampton: all available years (in consignments).

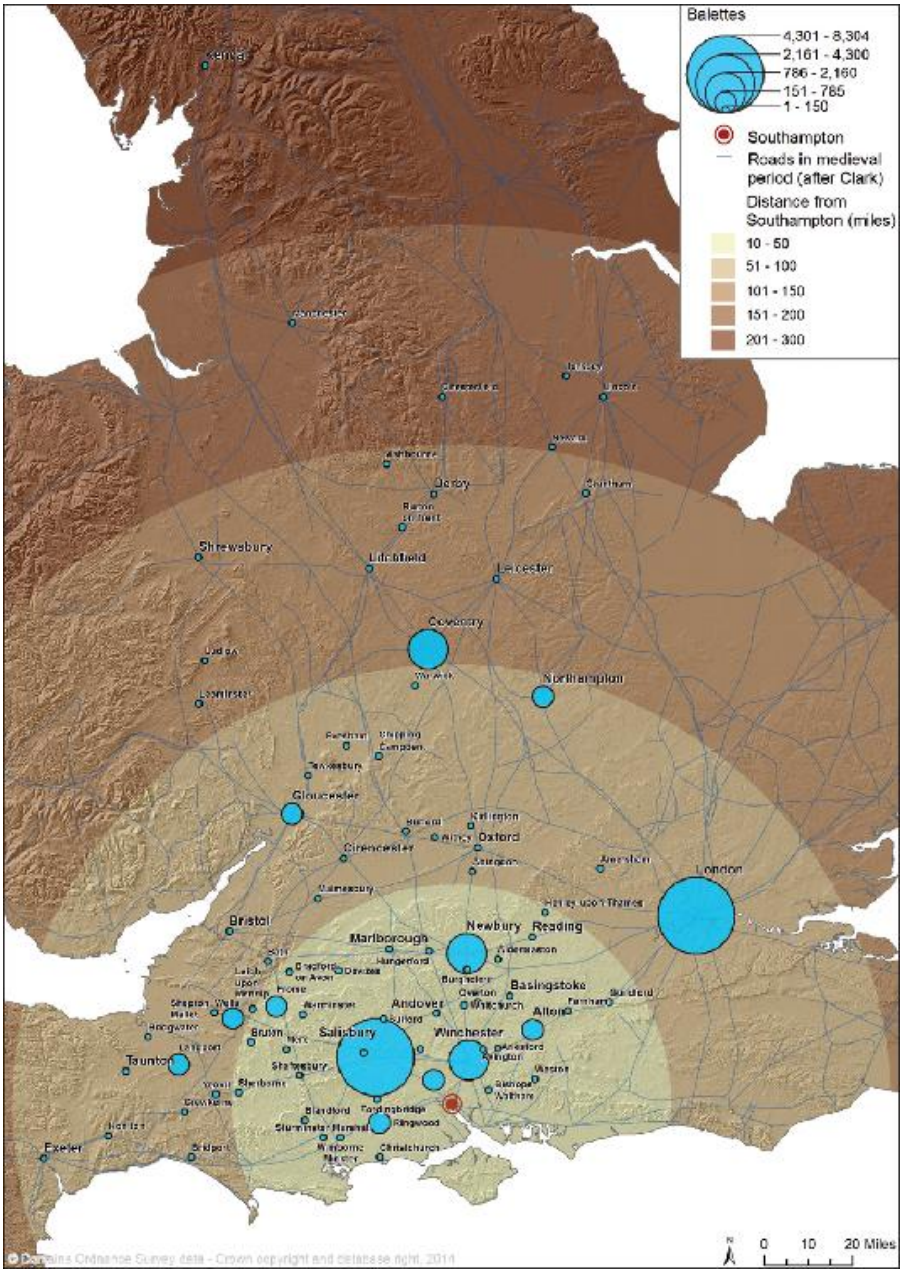


Map 17: Cloth into Southampton: all available years (in consignments).

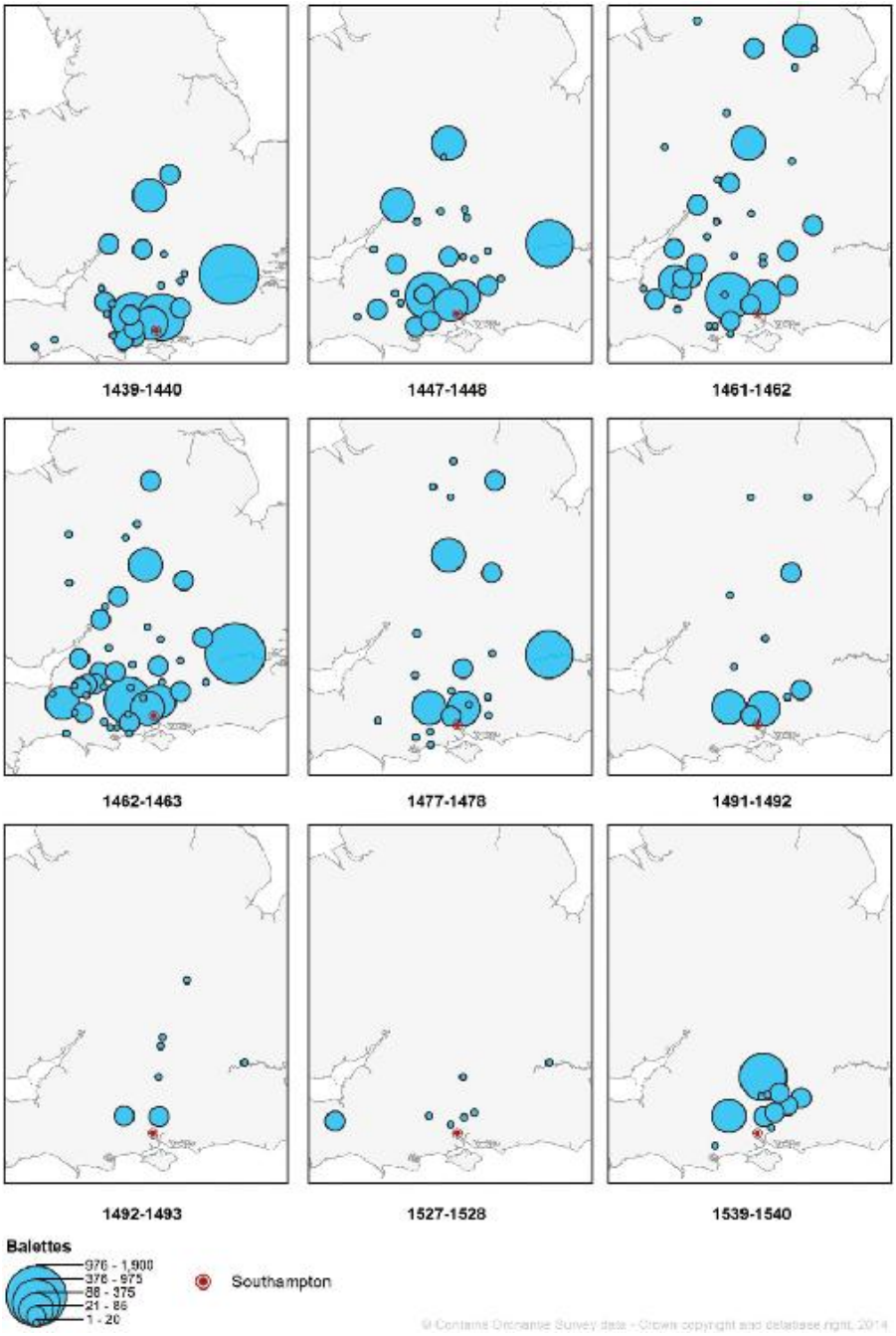

Consignments
305 - 1339
157 - 304
56 - 156
16 - 55
1 - 15
Southampton
Roads in medieval period (after Clark)
Distance from Southampton (miles)
10 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 150
151 - 200
201 - 300
Shrewsbury
Lichfield
Leicester
Coventry
Northampton
Gloucester
Cirencester
Oxford
London
Bristol
Marlborough
Newbury
Reading
Basingstoke
Salisbury
Andover
Alton
Romsey
Chichester
Taunton
Exeter
Poole
Wimborne Minster
Ringwood
Shaftesbury
Tewkesbury
Evesham
Chipping Campden
Warwick
Buckingham
Abingdon
Amersham
Malmesbury
Devizes
Hungerford
Aldermaston
Bradford on Avon
Stratford
Wilton
Wiltshire
Winchester
Guildford
Godalming
Kingsclere
Whitchurch
Weston
Bishop's Waltham
Ringwood
Christchurch
Sherborne
Crewkerne
Honiton
Axminster
Bridport
Dorchester
Blandford Forum
Minehead
Barnstaple
Tiverton
Liskeard
Launceston
Bodmin
Truro
Penzance
Falmouth
Redruth
Camborne
Helston
Newquay
Wadebridge
Bude
Holsworthy
Okehampton
Crediton
Tavistock
Plymouth
Torquay
Dartmouth
Totnes
Kingsbridge
Ivybridge
Newton Abbot
Teignmouth
Exmouth
Sidmouth
Lyme Regis
Chard
Ilminster
Yeovil
Frome
Glastonbury
Wells
Cheddar
Weston-super-Mare
Clevedon
Portishead
Bath
Chippenham
Calne
Devizes
Marlborough
Swindon
Cricklade
Malmesbury
Tetbury
Stroud
Cheltenham
Gloucester
Berkeley
Thornbury
Chepstow
Monmouth
Abergavenny
Hereford
Ross-on-Wye
Ledbury
Malvern
Worcester
Evesham
Pershore
Tewkesbury
Upton upon Severn
Droitwich
Bromsgrove
Redditch
Alcester
Stratford-upon-Avon
Warwick
Leamington Spa
Kenilworth
Coventry
Rugby
Daventry
Towcester
Brackley
Banbury
Bicester
Thame
Wallingford
Henley-on-Thames
Maidenhead
Windsor
Slough
Staines
Egham
Weybridge
Guildford
Godalming
Haslemere
Petersfield
Midhurst
Arundel
Worthing
Littlehampton
Bognor Regis
Portsmouth
Gosport
Fareham
Eastleigh
Southampton
Romsey
Andover
Basingstoke
Alton
Farnham
Aldershot
Camberley
Woking
Chertsey
Staines
Windsor
Slough
Reading
Wokingham
Bracknell
Ascot
Sunningdale
Egham
Virginia Water
Weybridge
Esher
Kingston upon Thames
Richmond
Twickenham
Hounslow
Heathrow
Uxbridge
Harrow
Wembley
Brent
Ealing
Hammersmith
Fulham
Chelsea
Kensington
Westminster
City of London
Camden
Islington
Hackney
Tower Hamlets
Greenwich
Lewisham
Southwark
Lambeth
Wandsworth
Merton
Sutton
Croydon
Bromley
Bexley
Dartford
Gravesend
Rochester
Chatham
Maidstone
Ashford
Canterbury
Whitstable
Herne Bay
Margate
Ramsgate
Deal
Dover
Folkestone
Hythe
Romney Marsh
Rye
Hastings
Bexhill
Eastbourne
Seaford
Newhaven
Brighton
Hove
Worthing
Littlehampton
Bognor Regis
Chichester
Selsey
Havant
Waterlooville
Fareham
Gosport
Portsmouth
Southsea
Hayling Island
Emsworth
Petersfield
Liphook
Haslemere
Godalming
Guildford
Woking
Camberley
Aldershot
Farnham
Alton
Basingstoke
Andover
Romsey
Eastleigh
Southampton
Totton
New Forest
Lymington
Milford on Sea
Christchurch
Bournemouth
Poole
Wareham
Swanage
Purbeck
Isle of Purbeck
Weymouth
Portland
Dorchester
Bridport
Lyme Regis
Axminster
Honiton
Exeter
Exmouth
Sidmouth
Budleigh Salterton
Seaton
Colyton
Beer
Axminster
Chard
Ilminster
Yeovil
Sherborne
Wincanton
Shaftesbury
Blandford Forum
Wimborne Minster
Ringwood
Fordingbridge
Salisbury
Amesbury
Stonehenge
Wilton
Warminster
Westbury
Trowbridge
Melksham
Bradford on Avon
Chippenham
Corsham
Box
Bath
Keynsham
Saltford
Bristol
Clevedon
Portishead
Weston-super-Mare
Burnham-on-Sea
Highbridge
Bridgwater
Taunton
Wellington
Tiverton
Cullompton
Crediton
Okehampton
Tavistock
Launceston
Bude
Holsworthy
Barnstaple
Ilfracombe
Braunton
Woolacombe
Croyde
Saunton
Instow
Appledore
Bideford
Great Torrington
Hatherleigh
Okehampton
Crediton
Tiverton
Dulverton
Minehead
Watchet
Williton
Bridgwater
Burnham-on-Sea
Highbridge
Weston-super-Mare
Clevedon
Portishead
Bristol
Keynsham
Saltford
Bath
Chippenham
Corsham
Box
Melksham
Trowbridge
Westbury
Warminster
Frome
Glastonbury
Wells
Cheddar
Axbridge
Shepton Mallet
Wincanton
Sherborne
Yeovil
Crewkerne
Chard
Ilminster
Taunton
Wellington
Tiverton
Cullompton
Exeter
Honiton
Axminster
Lyme Regis
Bridport
Dorchester
Weymouth
Portland
Isle of Purbeck
Swanage
Wareham
Poole
Bournemouth
Christchurch
Milford on Sea
Lymington
New Forest
Totton
Southampton
Eastleigh
Romsey
Andover
Basingstoke
Alton
Farnham
Aldershot
Camberley
Woking
Guildford
Godalming
Haslemere
Liphook
Petersfield
Emsworth
Havant
Waterlooville
Fareham
Gosport
Portsmouth
Southsea
Hayling Island
Chichester
Selsey
Bognor Regis
Littlehampton
Worthing
Shoreham-by-Sea
Brighton
Hove
Newhaven
Seaford
Eastbourne
Bexhill
Hastings
Rye
Romney Marsh
Hythe
Folkestone
Dover
Deal
Ramsgate
Margate
Whitstable
Herne Bay
Canterbury
Ashford
Maidstone
Chatham
Rochester
Gravesend
Dartford
Bexley
Bromley
Croydon
Sutton
Merton
Wandsworth
Lambeth
Southwark
Lewisham
Greenwich
Tower Hamlets
Hackney
Islington
Camden
City of London
Westminster
Kensington
Chelsea
Fulham
Hammersmith
Ealing
Brent
Wembley
Harrow
Uxbridge
Heathrow
Hounslow
Twickenham
Richmond
Kingston upon Thames
Esher
Weybridge
Egham
Staines
Windsor
Slough
Reading
Wokingham
Bracknell
Ascot
Sunningdale
Virginia Water
Chertsey
Woking



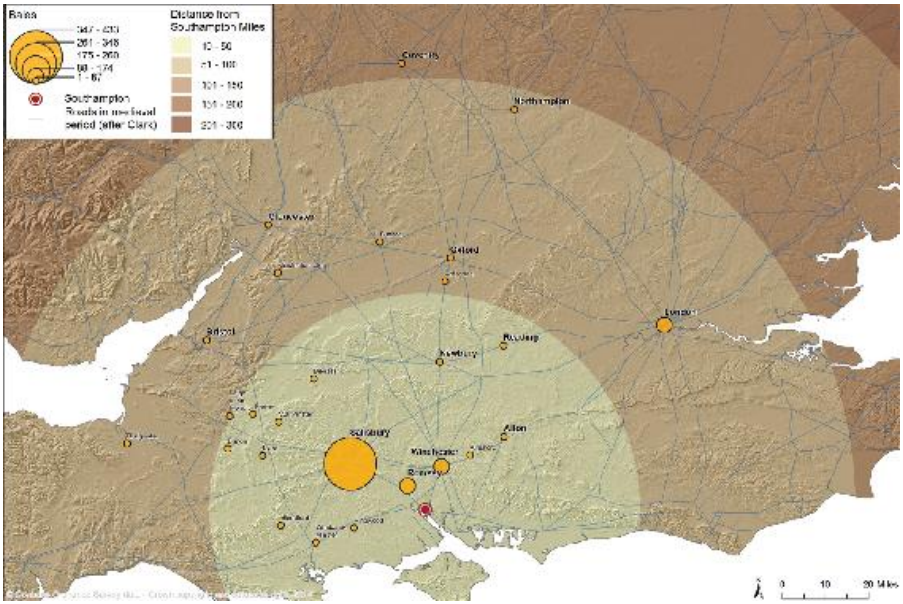
Map 19: Distribution of materials for cloth industry: by year.



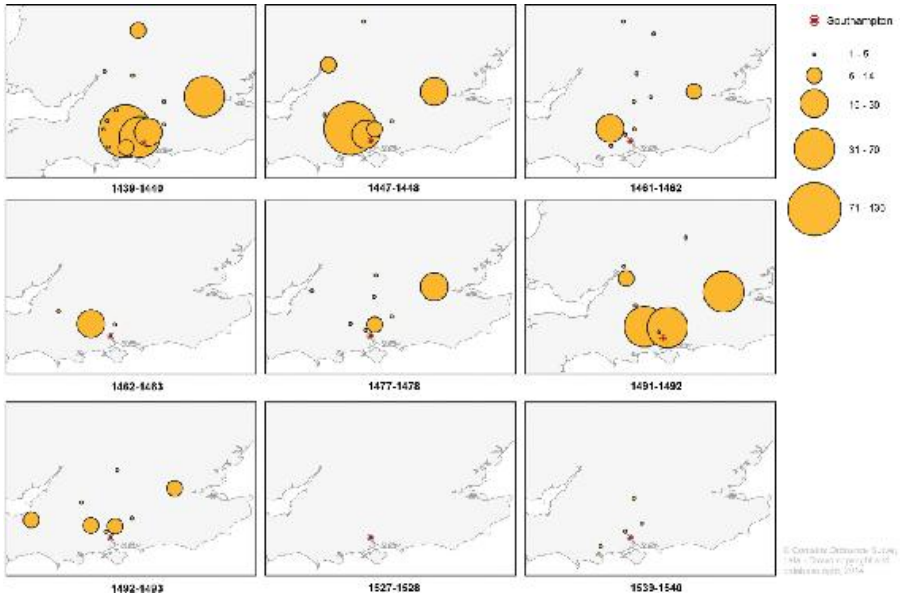
Map 20: Distribution of woad: all available years (in balettes).



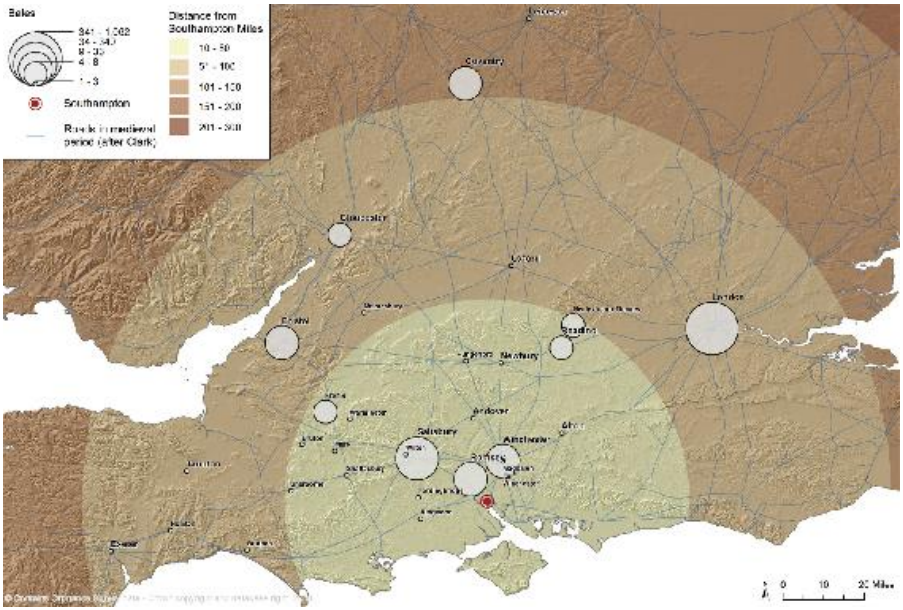
Map 21: Distribution of woad: by year.



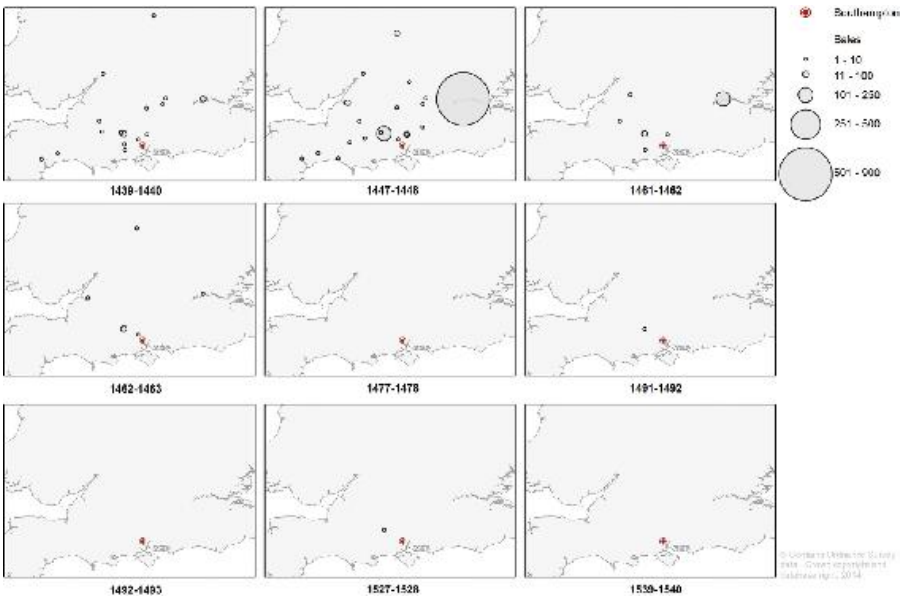
Map 22: Distribution of madder: all available years (in bales).



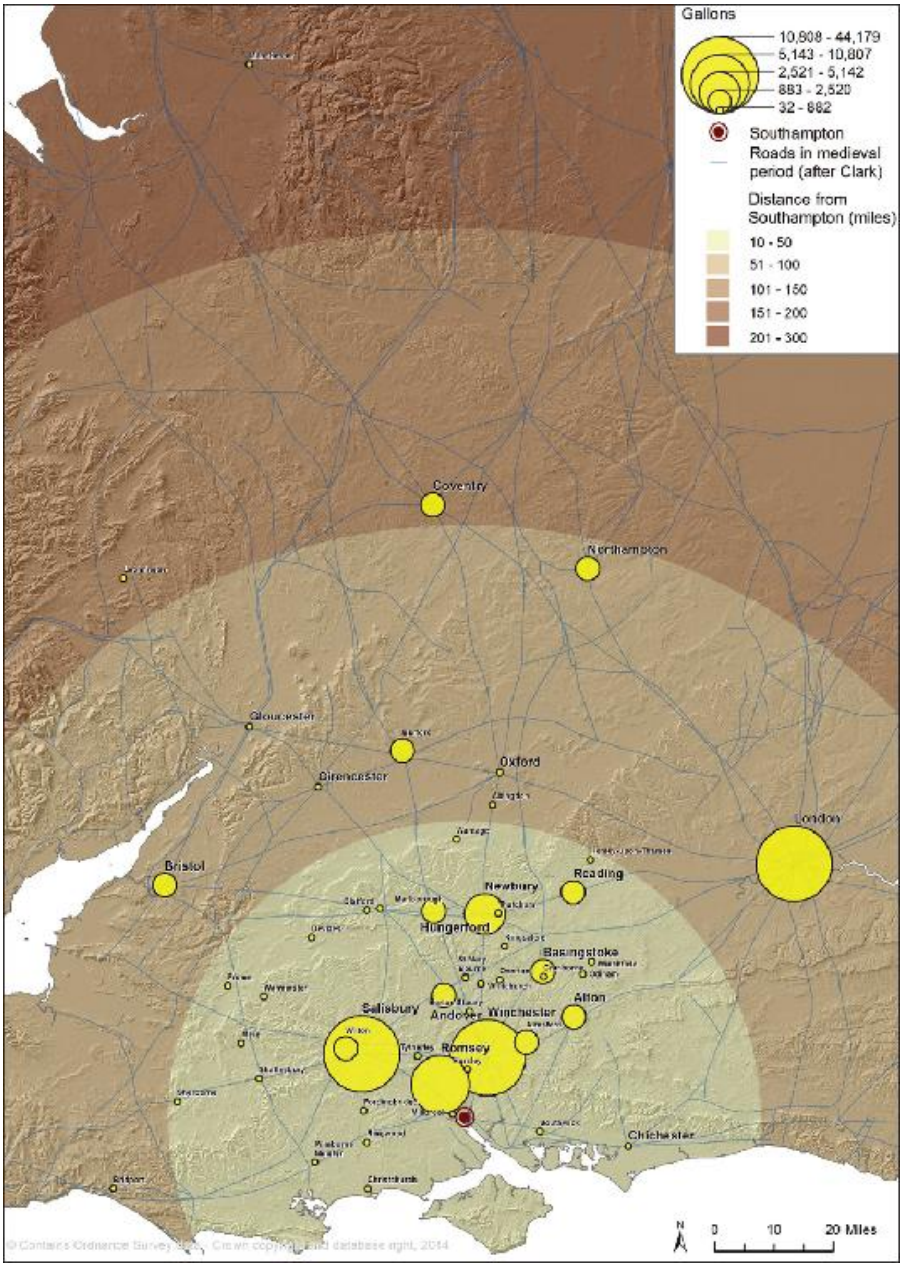
Map 23: Distribution of madder: by year.



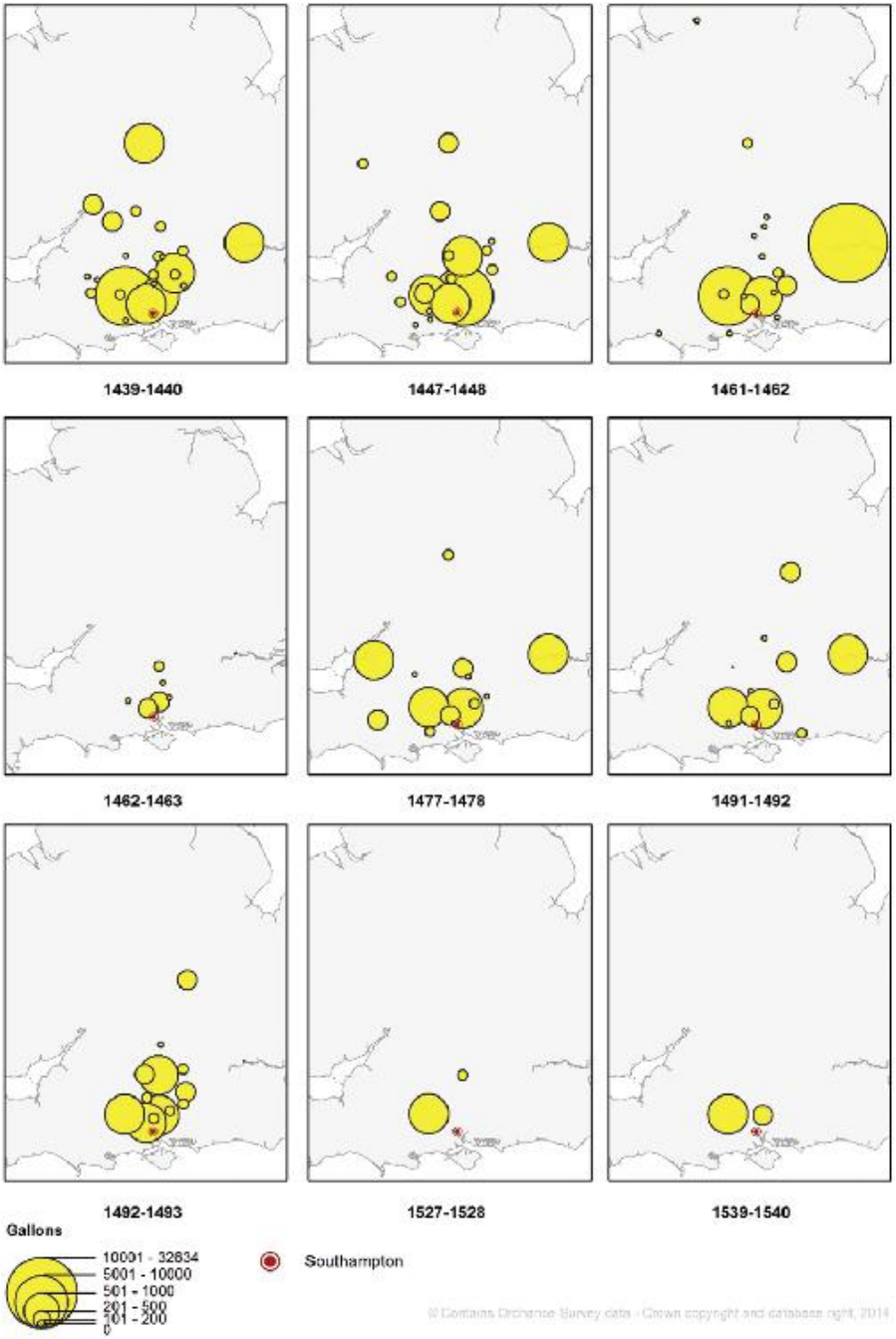
Map 24: Distribution of alum: all available years (in bales).



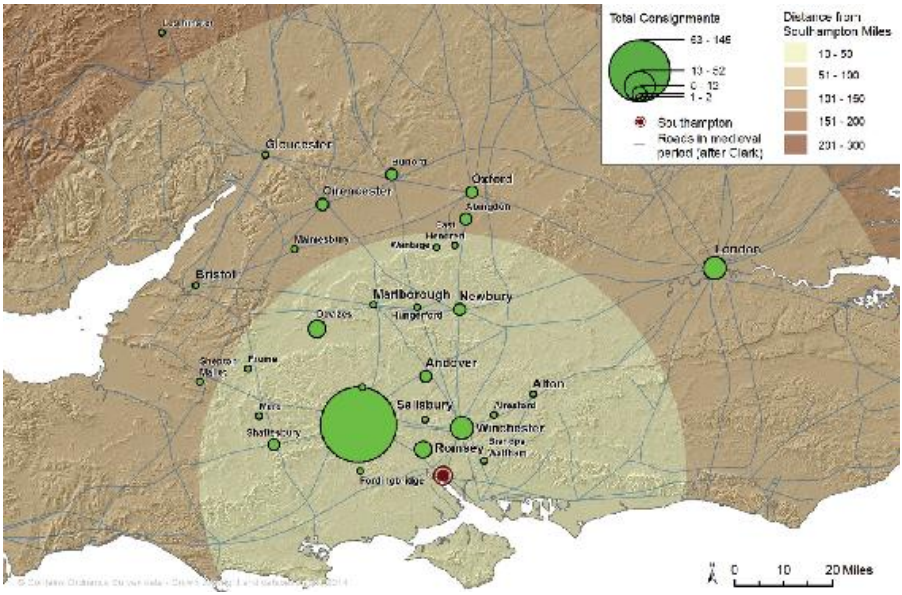
Map 25: Distribution of alum: by year.



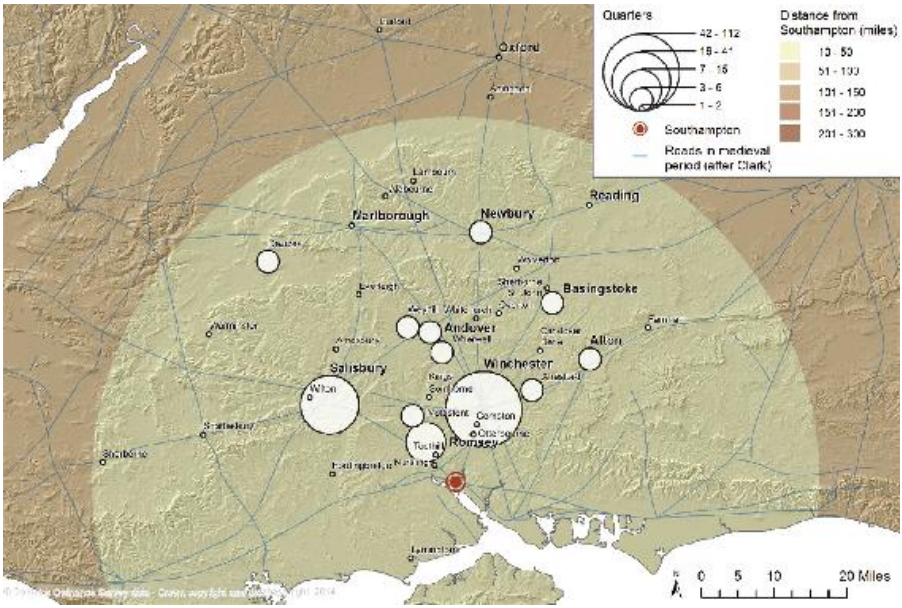
Map 26: Distribution of oil: all available years (in gallons).



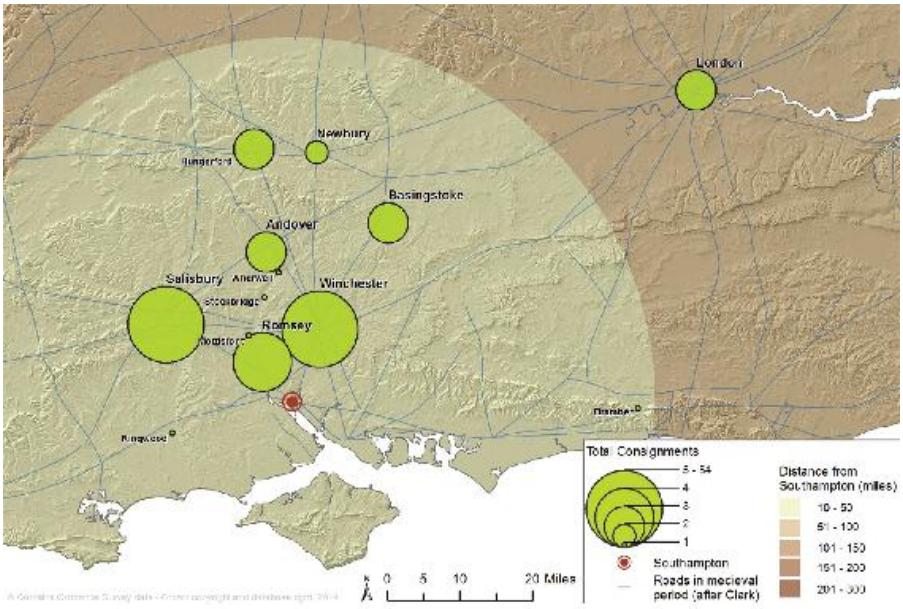
Map 27: Distribution of oil: by year.



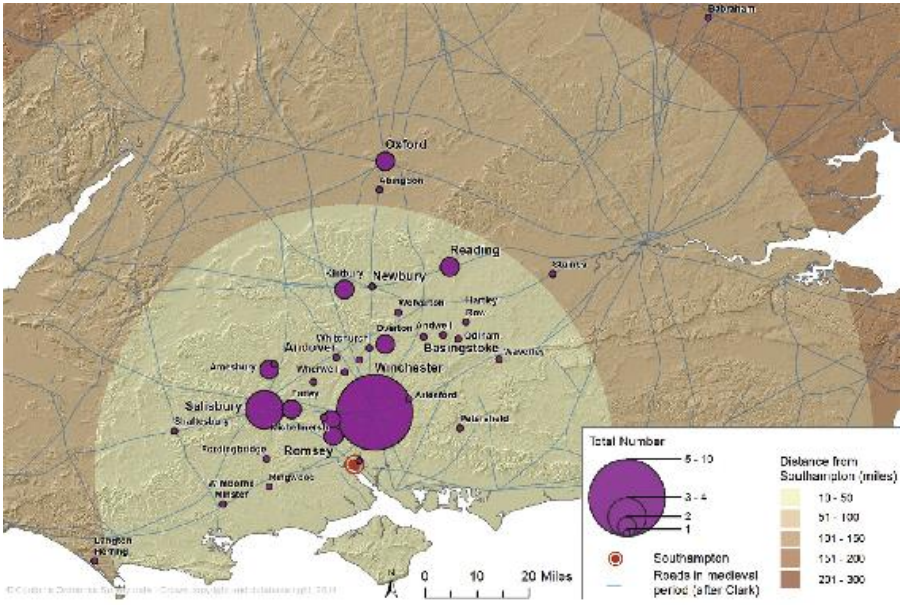
Map 28A: Distribution of soap: all available years (in consignments).



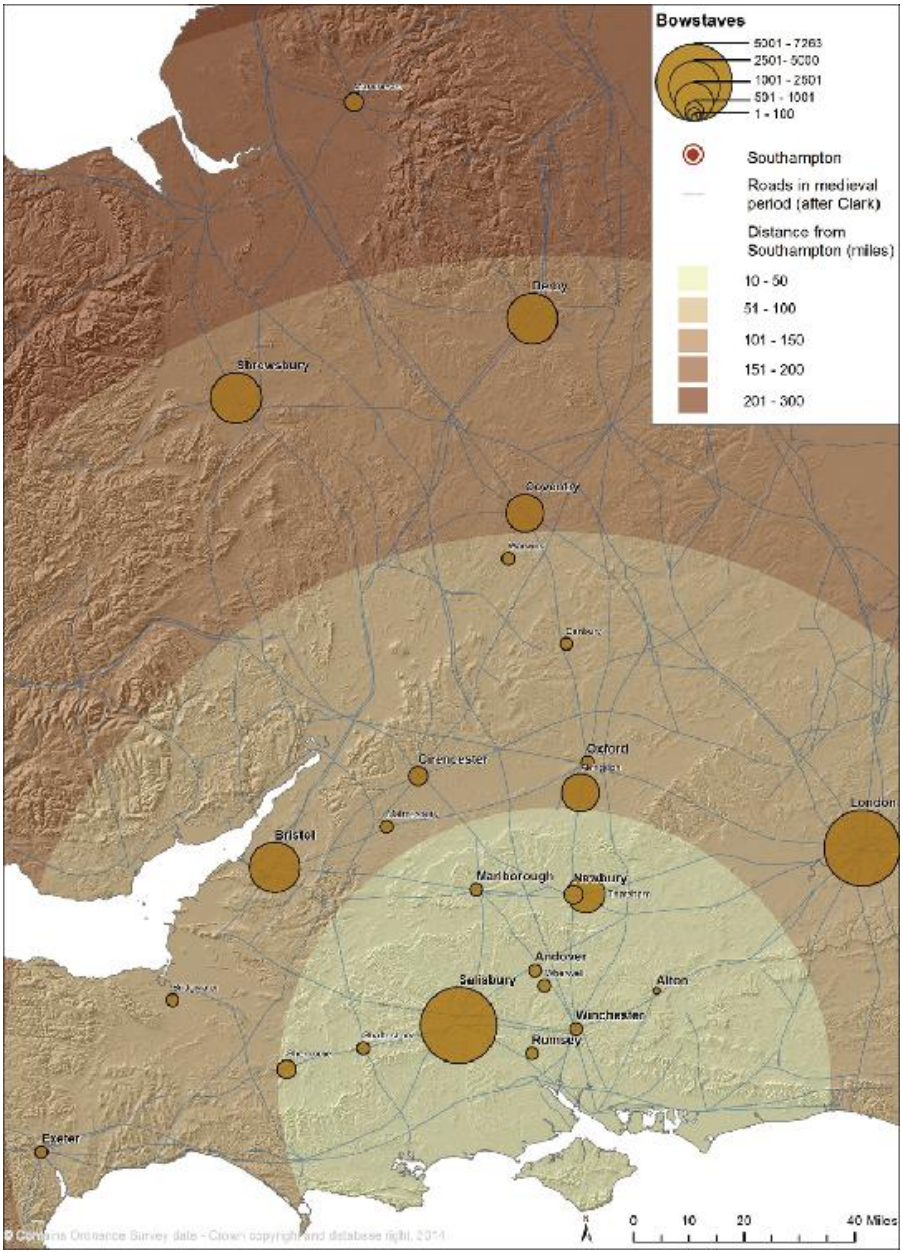
Map 28B: Distribution of salt: all available years (in consignments).



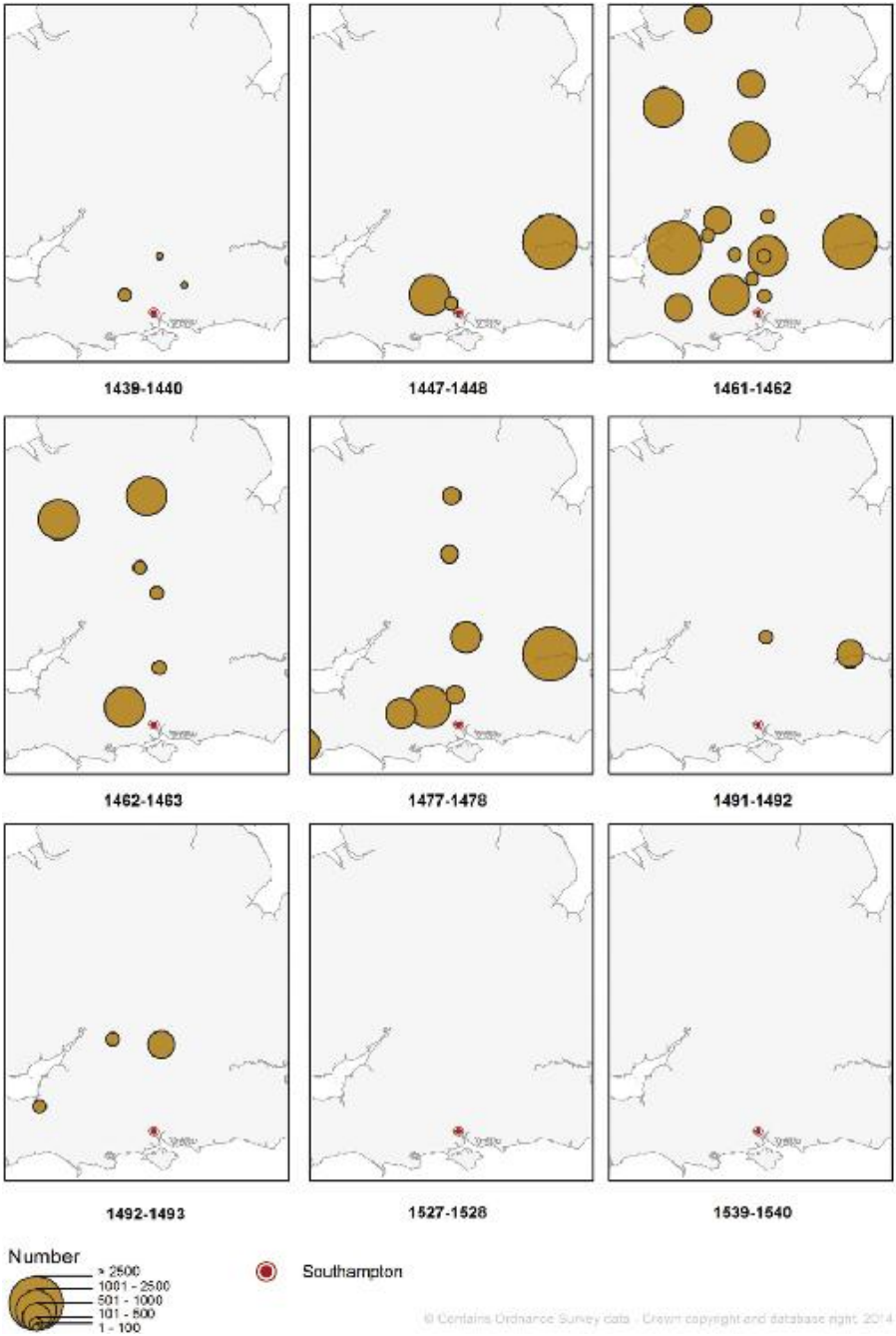
Map 29A: Distribution of hops: all available years (in consignments).



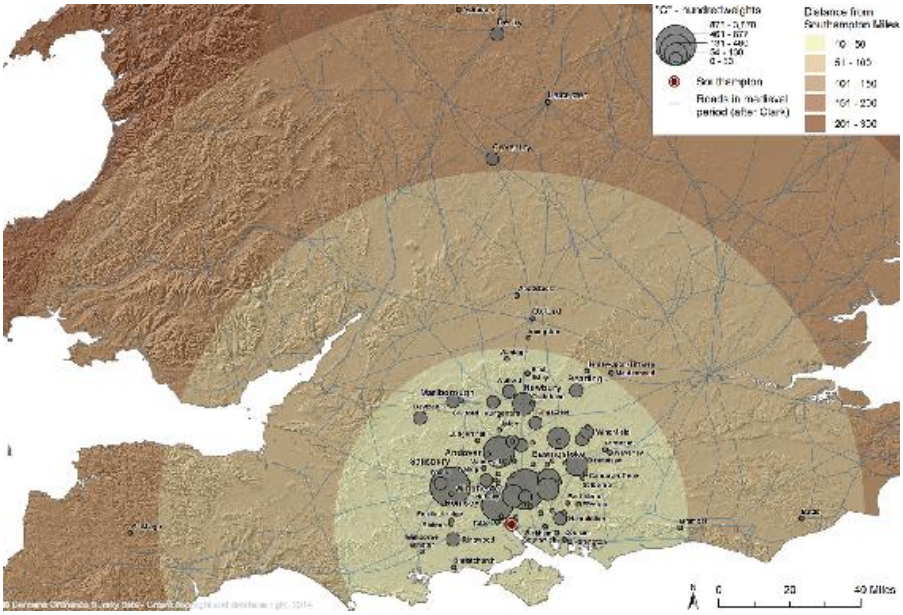
Map 29B: Distribution of millstones: all available years (in millstones).



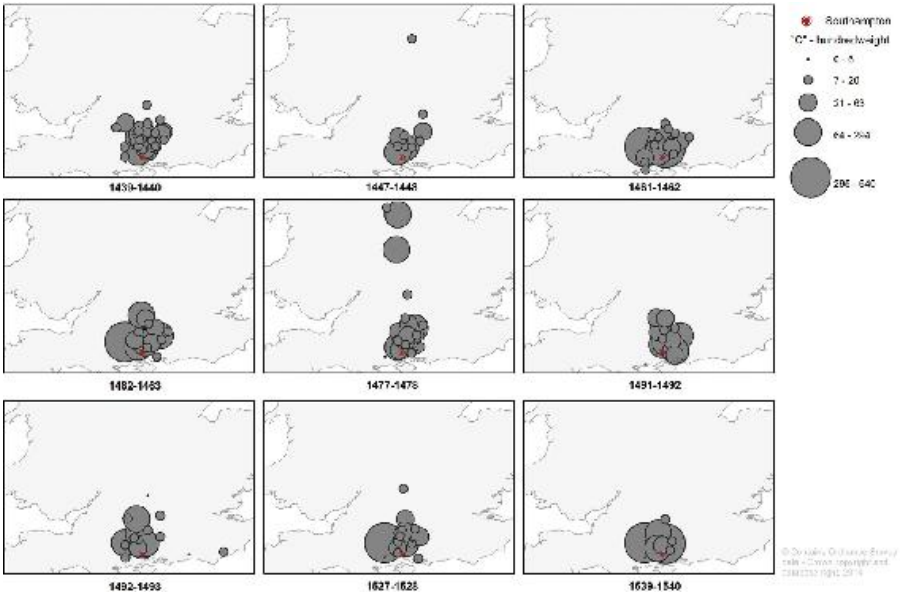
Map 30: Distribution of bowstaves: all available years (in bowstaves).



Map 31: Distribution of bowstaves: by year.



Map 32A: Distribution Of iron: All available years (in hundredweights).



Map 32B: Distribution of iron: by year.